

appears as what might be the sleeve from which the arm of the goddess protrudes, but on my more perfect coin, the sleeve or cuff appears as a fold above the loop which would seem to be intended as a fold of the snake's body, round the arm of the goddess, with the extremity of the tail just visible on her left knee.

In support of the views here put forth reference has only been made to coins in my own cabinet or those figured in the 'Ariana Antiqua,' Mr. Thomas's 'Jainism or the early faith of Aśoka,' and Mr. Smith's paper, all works readily accessible to the Indian reader, but an examination of the fine series of Gupta coins in the British Museum, strongly bears out the fact of the Gupta 'cornu-copiæ' being (by its mode of representation on the best samples) a conventional symbol of the 'Nága' and the only point I cannot explain satisfactorily to myself, is how this very obvious interpretation has hitherto escaped the notice of the many far abler antiquaries than myself who have studied these coins; for once enuntiated, the idea seems almost as obvious, as the celebrated problem of the egg propounded by Columbus.

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*The Square Silver Coins of the Sultáns of Kashmir.*—By CHAS. J. RODGERS, M. R. A. S., Member of the Numismatic Society, London, and Associate Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (With 3 Plates.)

When I wrote my small paper on "The Copper Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir" I mentioned the fact of my possessing square silver coins of five Sultáns. The publication of my papers on the coins of Kashmír caused other numismatists to search and the result was a great find of coins of both the Sultáns and Máhárájahs. I too was aroused from my lethargy and led to see if I could not get a few more coins, and I dared to hope that as I had published the copper coins of ten Sultáns, I might perhaps secure the silver coins of the same number of kings. I tried all the bazaars of the Panjáb, but they gave me nothing. A friend of mine travelling from the Jhelum to Kángra along the outskirts of Jammú tried every village bazaar, and he was successful in getting several coins amongst which was one of Mahmúd Sháh a name hitherto unknown in the annals of Kashmír, and of whom I have not as yet seen a copper coin. But more than this he obtained the *silver* coins of no less than five of the old Máhárájahs in fine condition. These are round and are similar to the copper coins only of much finer workmanship. This success led me to try for myself in Jammú and its environs.

I accordingly secured the services of an intelligent native who could read Persian well and draw a little, and who was moreover honest and so active as to seem almost ubiquitous. He made two or three journeys on my behalf and the result was that on starting from Amritsar on a year's furlough I had the pleasure of taking with me coins with the names on them of no less than seventeen Sultáns. One of them, however, had come to me in exchange from my revered friend General Cunningham,—that of Fath Sháh. During my absence Dr. Stulpnagel employed the same young man with equally good results for he obtained an additional coin, that of Yaqúb Sháh's. I afterwards secured a second one for General Cunningham. The accompanying three plates represent the coins thus obtained.

I do not think I can do better than transcribe the inscriptions so far as I can decipher them. Perhaps more successful numismatists or happier possessors of better specimens will be able to put me right on several points. I need not say how happy I shall be to be corrected as what I am in search of is historical correctness. We must not be shocked at the revelations of the coins. Here they are, the metal records, struck, as we have every right to believe, by the Sultáns themselves during the time of their reign. We must take them exactly as they are—

Margin.	Reverse in scalloped lozenge.	Obverse.	No.
في شهر سنة اثني لعه	ضرب كشمير	السلطان الاعظم سكندر شاه	1
في شهر سنة اثنين واربعين وثمانماية	do.	السلطان الاعظم زين العابدين ٨٤٢	2
do. do. do.	do.	السلطان الاعظم حسن شاه ٨٧٦	3
Variant of No. 3.	do.	do. do. do.	4
Illegible.	do.	السلطان الاعظم محمد شاه	5
في شهر سنة احدي ؟ ؟	do.	do. do. do.	6
في شهر سنة اثنين واربعين وثمانماية	do.	السلطان لاعظم فتح شاه	7
Smudged copy of above.	do.	السلطان الاعظم نادر شاه	8
Muddled copy of margin of No. 7.	do.	do. do. do.	9
في شهر سنة سبع وخمسين وتسع مائة	do.	do. do. do.	10

Margin.	Reverse in scalloped lozenge.	Obverse.	No.
The reverses of these two coins are so bad I have not drawn them.	ضرب كشمير	السلطان الاعظم شمس الدين	11
		do. do. do.	12
في شهر سنه ثلاث وخمسين وتسع مائه	ضرب كشمير	السلطان الاعظم همايون غازي	13
do. do. do.	do.	do. do.	14
في شهر سنه سبع وخمسين وتسع مائه	do.	السلطان الاعظم اسلام شاه	15
Illegible.	do.	السلطان الاعظم ابراهيم شاه	16
Copy of margin of Nos. 2 or 7.	do.	السلطان الاعظم اسماعيل شاه	17
في سنه تسعمائه وستين واحد	do.	السلطان الاعظم محمود شاه	18
Illegible.	do.	نصير الدين محمد غازي شاه ( ٩ ) ٩٦	19
في شهر سنه سبعين وتسعمائه	ضرب كشمير	نصير الدين محمد حسين بادشاه غازي	20
do. do. do.	do.	do. do.	21
٩٧٢ في شهر سنه اثنين وسبعين وتسعمائه	do.	do. do.	22
٩٨٩ ( ? ) بتاريخ سنه نهصد وهشتاد ( ونه )	ضرب كشمير	محمد علي بادشاه ٩٨٩ ( ٩ )	23
٩٨٠ بتاريخ سنه نهصد وهشتاد	do.	do. do.	24
٩٨٧ في سنه نهصد وهشتاد وهفت	do.	do. do.	25
do. do. do.	do.	نصير الدين محمد يوسف بادشاه غازي	26
do. do. do.	do.	جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي	27
في سنه تسعمائه وستين واحد	do.	اعظم محمد جلال الدين اكبر	28

Margin.	Reverse in scalloped lozenge.	Obverse.	No.
Unintelligible and not given.	ضرب كشمير	اعظم محمد جلال الدين اكبر بان شاه	29
Not given but date same as on 28.	do.	السلطان الاعظم جلال الدين محمد اكبر	30
في شهر	do.	السلطان الاعظم حيدر شاه ٨٧٤	31
في شهر سنه اثنى و اربعين و ثمانمائه	do.	السلطان الاعظم محمد شاه ٨٤٢	32
في شهر سنه خمسين	ضرب كشمير	السلطان الاعظم ح محمد همايون غازي	33
٩٨٧ بتاريخ هفت هشتاد و نه صد	do.	نصير الدين محمد يوسف بادشاه غازي	34
٩٩٢ بتاريخ دونو دو نه صد	do.	نصير الدين محمد يعقوب بادشاه غازي	35
في شهر سنه اثنى اربعين و ثمانمائه	do.	السلطان الاعظم بد تا علي ( ? ) ٩١٤	36
Same as 35.	same as 35.	same as 35.	37
٩٨٧ بتاريخ هفت هشتاد و نه صد	do.	ع الدين محمد غازي	38
بتاريخ نه صد نون ٦ ( ? ) ٤٧ الهي اسفندار مز اكبر الله جل جلاله		السلطان الاعظم محمد اكبر ضرب سوري نگر	39 40
do.	do.	ضرب سوري نگر ٤٧ الهي خورداد	41
		ضرب سوري نگر ٥٠ الهي اردي بهشت	42

Coins Nos. 39 and 40 are copper. They are given to illustrate remarks made in the course of this essay on the *silver* coins of the Sultáns. They are both of them new to numismatists not having yet been published. No. 40 is exceedingly rare. I have only seen one other like it.

There are several points calling for notice in the above list of coins (1) On some coins the dates are given in two ways in figures and in words. Some have only the words. (2) In some cases the date is in Arabic words in others in Persian. (3) The same date,—*viz.*, 842 appears in Arabic words on the margins of coins which either possess

another date in figures or are the coins of kings who reigned long after 842. One coin of Muhammad Sháh No. 32, Pl. III has the date 842 in figures as well as words. (4) The date on coin No. I, Pl. I, is certainly like the date on the coins of Zain ul Ábidín. And yet No. I is a coin of Sikandar the father of this king. It is just possible that Zain ul Ábidín struck the coin in honour of his father. All the silver coins I have yet seen of Zain ul Ábidín have one date 842 in both figures and words, the figures appearing on the obverse and the words in the corners of the reverse. Hasan Sháh's coins have on them 876 in figures on the obverse and yet 842 in Arabic words on the reverse. Fath Sháh and Nádir Sháh in his earlier years used the same date 842 as far as I can judge. (5) The reverse of a coin of Akbar, No. 28, Pl. II seems to have been struck with the very die that was used for Mahmúd's coin No. 18, Pl. II, the year having the same 961 two years before Akbar came to the throne. All this is very strange. It reduces the value of the coins as aids in historical research to a minimum. What we want in the history of Kashmír is an accurate and trustworthy chronology and yet the coins which we usually regard as worthy of trust prove in this case to be worthless or nearly so. All the manuscript histories I have as yet consulted give different dates. They all vary from Prinsep. And Prinsep and all the MSS. differ from the coins. The later coins, however, seem trustworthy. I think we may accept the date in figures on Hasan Sháh's coin, 876. The date on both the silver and copper coins of Haidar Sháh is in figures 874. This date was evidently a favourite one for I have a small copper coin of Muhammad Sháh and also of Fath Sháh with this date on in *figures*. There are parallel cases to this. In my paper on the Sikh coins I showed that Ranjít Singh adhered to the year 1884 A. S. for ten years and to 1885 A. S. the Sikhs adhered until they ceased coining. But in small figures on the other side the real year was inserted. Again the H. E. I. Company struck coins at Farrukhábád on which the year is invariable 45th of Sháh Álam : at Murshedábád 19th year. Surat and Calcutta mints each had an invariable year. Fortunately we have no need of numismatic aid for the period of the Company's rule.

It will be seen that no coins of the early Sultáns have as yet been found. If my reading of the date of coin No. 1, pl. I, bearing Sikandar's name be correct then the first silver coins are those of Zain ul Ábidín. We have, however, Sikandar's coins in copper. In my own small cabinet I have five undoubtedly his and several doubtful ones. Every cabinet of coins in the Panjáb contains a lot of coins of Kashmír in copper which no one has yet been able to assign to any known ruler.

It is very peculiar that no coins bearing the name of Habíb Sháh

have yet been found. It is probable, however, that although Habíb's name occurs in inscriptions the name of the coins was Mahmúd.

Again we have on the coins the name of *Nádir Sháh*. Now, no list of kings gives this name. They all have *Názuk Sháh*. This must have arisen from some mistake of the early copyists unless indeed his name was *Nádir Sháh* on his coins and *Názuk Sháh* in the mouths of the people. In one MS. in the British Museum the name *Názuk Sháh* is spelt variously *نار شاه* *نار شاه* *نار شاه* *نار شاه* and *نار شاه*. All the MSS. read *Názuk* and all the coins both in silver and copper read *Nádir*. No coin has yet been found with *Názuk* on it.

There were two kings of the name of *Shams ud Dín*. I think the coins are those of the second and not of the first king of that name. Unfortunately neither of the coins I figure has a margin worth drawing. It is perfectly illegible. Hence no date can be made out.

Of *Islám Sháh* and *Humáyún* I shall speak in another place.

It seems to me that these coins evidence that Arabic was not much studied in Kashmir, or if studied, the knowledge of it was confined to the Muhammadan saints and sages with accounts of whose accomplishments and virtues Muhammad Ázim's book abounds. The knowledge did not get into the mint. The reign of *Zain ul Ábidín* was, however, favourable to learning. In the confusion which followed learning was but lightly esteemed.

The coins vary very little. There is a certain monotony about them. They are all square. They have the same kind of lozenge on the reverse. The differences in the inscriptions will be at once visible. There are two the names on which I cannot make out. Nos. 36 and 38. Pl. III. Perhaps some one has better specimens. No. 30 is the property of my learned friend Dr. Stulpnagel as is also No. 35. I have much pleasure in acknowledging the kindness which placed the coins at my service. The same pleasant duty I have to perform to General Cunningham for the use of No. 37. All the rest of the coins are or were in my cabinet. Many have found rest in the British Museum.

When Akbar had got a fair hold on the country then he struck rupees in Kashmir with his own peculiar inscription on them. Nos. 41 and 42, Pl. III are two rupees of this kind struck in Srínagar. No. 40 is a copper *dám* struck in the same city. No. 39 is a copper coin of Akbar following the style of the old Sultáns.

The weight of the square silver coins varies from 91 to 96 grains. The lightest is one of *Shams ud Dín*'s the heaviest one of *Yúsuf Sháh*'s. *Zain ul Ábidín*'s coins vary as much as 3 grains. Some are worn more than others. If the coins of *Shams ud Dín* are of the 1st king then we

can understand their being so much worn. But we cannot understand why his immediate successors' coins have not been found yet.

The five silver coins of the Maharajah's which I have vary from 82 to 87·9 grains. This weight is about 10 grains less than the average weight of the Muhammadan coins. Hence we cannot say that these square coins are the successor of the Hindu coins which were called *padákas*. The difference between the copper coins of the Máhárájahs and their silver coins is this; on the reverse instead of the word *deva*, the name of the coin पदक is given. The word used in Farishta when speaking of these coins is *Sikka* سكة.\*

Perhaps it will make matters easier if now without further preamble we give a slight sketch of the History of Kashmír under its own Sultáns, and thus show who the people were whose coins we have here drawn. Throughout I shall be guided by Farishta whose authority seems trustworthy and who seems to have consulted trustworthy authorities.

*Sháh Mír.*—In the reign of Sinha Deva in the year 715 A. H. = 1315 A. D., one year after the battle of Bannockburn, a faqir by name Sháh Mírzá or Sháh Mír appeared in Kashmír. He gave himself out to be a descendant of Arjun one of the Pándús. So he was of Hindu descent though of the Muhammadan religion. He became a servant of Sinha Deva who, however, died shortly afterwards. Sinha Deva was succeeded by Rinchina Deva who made Sháh Mírzá his wazír and the tutor of his son Chandar. Rinchina Deva died in 1318 A. D. and he was succeeded by a relative of his named Udyána Deva who came from Kandahár. This Mahárájah made Sháh Mírzá his wakíl and his two sons Jamshed and Alí Sher received appointments. Sháh Mírzá had two other sons Sarashának and Hindál. These also obtained power and office. Too late Udyána Deva found out his mistake. The father and four sons grew daily in wealth and power. The Mahárájah was a mere cypher in the land. At last in 747 A. D. he died. His widow Kotáh Rání desired Sháh Mírzá to put Chandar his pupil and the son of Rinchina Deva on the throne, and himself to hold the reins of government as before. He did not obey. She raised an army and went against him and was defeated and taken prisoner. She at length consented to marry Sháh Mírzá and to become a Muhammadan. One day and one night she spent as his wife. The next day she was seized and sent to prison. And then Sháh Mírzá, *causing coins to be struck*, and the khutba to be read, *in his own name* ascended the throne with the

\* General Cunningham says in a letter received from him, 11th May 1884, "I have ascertained by actual assay that the so-called silver Hindu coins of Kashmír do not contain even the faintest trace of silver. They are simple white brass, made of zinc and copper."

title of Shams ud Dín. (There is just a possibility that coins Nos. 11 and 12 are of this Sultán. The points in favour of this view are (1) the archaic forms of the letters, (2) light weight evidently caused by wear, and (3) the fact that Shams ud Dín I was a ruler of some importance, whereas Shams ud Dín II was a puppet king.)

He reigned in all three years and died in his eightieth year. His reign would seem to have been a beneficial one. He raised two families to eminence the Chakks and the Mákarís. From these two families the chief generals and leaders and soldiers were drawn. He left the throne to his two sons Jamshed and Alí Sher. This was about 750 A. H. as Shams ud Dín obtained the throne about 747 A. H. and reigned three years.

(The above is one account. A manuscript history says that Zuljú in 724 A. H. came to Kashmír with an army of Turks and Moguls when Rinchina was king. This Zuljú is represented as marrying Rinchina's widow. The MS. goes on to say that Shamsheer got the throne in 742 A. H. and Ala-ud-Dín in 748, A. H. We must not expect exactness in either names or dates from native historians. Indeed all throughout we may lay this down as an axiom that ignorant copyists can never be trusted to make accurate copies of books they do not understand. Another MS. which I consulted on a former occasion has it that Ratan-girí was the first Sultán of Kashmír and that he was a second Solomon. Zuljú is said to have come from Kandahár and to have returned there.)

*Alá-ud-Dín.*—After the death of Shams-ud-Dín, the brothers fought for the throne for about fourteen months. Eventually Sháh Jamshed was defeated and Alí Sher came to the throne under the title of *Alá-ud-Dín* and he made his younger brother Sheráshának his waqíl. In the early years of his reign there was plenty in the land, but the latter part of it was troubled with famine. One good law he made :— that no bad woman should have any inheritance from her husband. This law acted well. It restrained the women. This lets in a little light on the social condition of that time and land. *Alá-ud-Dín* reigned twelve years eight months and thirteen days.

*Shaháb-ud-Dín.*—His younger brother ascended the throne under the name of *Shaháb-ud-Dín*. He was a great conqueror. The day that passed without the receipt of a report of some victory or other obtained by his troops he did not count as a day of his life. Kandahár and Gazní feared him. He himself went to Pesháwar and threaded the passes of the Hindú Kush. He planted his tents on the banks of the Satlaj and in the way the Rájah of Nagarkot (Kángrah) gave in his submission. This rájah was just returning from a plundering expedition in the



direction of Dehli and part of the plunder was given as a present to Shaháb-ud-Dín. Little Tibet also sent a message desiring peace.

On his return to his capital he made his younger brother Hindál his heir to the exclusion of his sons Hasan Khán and Alí Khán whom he sent away in the direction of Dehlí. He reigned, in all, 20 years. In his reign Musalmans were few in the land, but as this king built a city which he called by his own name, he created in it a mosque, probably the first built in the valley.

*Kutub-ud-Dín.*—Hindál succeeded him under the title of Kutub-ud-Dín. His reign was disturbed by troubles at the bottom of which was his nephew Hasan Khán. He is said to have reigned fifteen years five months and to have died in 795 A. H.

Working back from this date with the data which our historian

				A. H.
ascended the throne in	...	...	...	781
Shaháb-ud-Dín	...	...	...	761
Alá-ud-Dín	...	...	...	748
Jamshed	...	...	...	746
Shams-ud-Dín	...	...	...	743

We have seen before that it was in 747 Shams-ud Dín came to the throne.

The “*Náma-i-Sháhán-i-Kashmír*” gives 796 A. H. as the year of Kutub-ud-Dín’s death and the *Tawarikh-i-Kashmír*” gives 795. Lithographed editions of *Farishtah* give 796 A. H. Prinsep’s *Tables* give 799 A. H. General Cunningham makes it in 1386 A. D. = 788 A. H. The five authorities bring it within a compass of eight years, so that no one of them is very much out. The Muhammadan historian concludes his account of the above reign with an Arabic question *والله اعلم بالصواب* and God knows what is right. This is his way of getting out of the difficulty. With our present knowledge it must be ours too.

*Sikandar.*—It was somewhere about the end of the reign of Richard II, that Sikandar the son of Kutub-ud-Dín ascended the throne of Kashmír. He was young having been born in his father’s later years. His mother Súrah looked after his interests. She drove away Sikandar’s father-in-law. Rái Mádarí, a noble of the court poisoned Sikandar’s younger brother Haibat Khán and thus relieved him of this source of anxiety. But the poisoner fearing the king obtained permission to conquer Little Tibet. This he accomplished and then revolted. Sikandar in person moved against him and Rái Mádarí was defeated and being taken prisoner he poisoned himself. Sikandar then looked after Tibet on his own account.

It was at this time that Taimúr made his descent upon India.

Sikandar at once sent in his submission and gave Taimúr's ambassadors much gold and many presents. Sikandar was ordered to present himself with proper presents on Taimúr's return from Dehli. He got ready all he could. But he was told by some of Taimúr's servants that he must give at least 3,000 horses 1,00,000 ashrafís. These vast numbers of to him valuable things were unobtainable. He therefore excused himself to Taimúr by saying that he had nothing worthy of being offered to so great a sovereign, but that he would return to his home and prepare a right royal present for him. Taimúr guessed that his nobles had been trying to squeeze all they could out of Sikandar and accepted the excuse. Sikandar got all ready, but when he got out of Kashmír with his gifts, by the pass of Baramúla he found Taimúr had crossed the Indus and was on his way to Samarqand. Thither he sent ambassadors with his offerings and he himself returned to Kashmír.

Sikandar was an exceedingly generous man. Hearing of this, learned men from Iráq and Khorásán and Mávará-un-Nahr flocked to his court in such numbers that it became an example to the courts of those provinces. Sayyid Muhammad, one of the learned men, instructed the king in all the rites of the Muhammadan religion. But Syah But a Brahman convert to Islám was made prime minister and to him were consigned all the affairs of the state. This minister signalized his term of office by a zeal in the persecution of his former co-religionists such as has seldom been seen in the history of religious turn-coats. The king (of course acting on the advice of his prime minister) ordered all Hindús to become Musalmáns or leave the country. He forbade the use of the tíká on the forehead and commanded that women should not be burned along with their husbands. All idols of silver and gold were ordered to be melted down. Many of the Brahmans rather than obey these orders committed suicide. Other preferred exile. Some few became Musalmáns. The Sultán used every exertion to destroy idols. One famous Máhá Deo and one Chakk Deo were destroyed by his orders, When these idols were broken flames issued from the fracture. These flames were supposed by the Hindus to be miraculous, but the Sultán rightly judged they were caused by the superior science of the Brahmans, and stayed not his hand until all were destroyed. Under one of these temples it was said a copper plate was found with an inscription on it to the effect that the temple had been built by Lilitáwat Rájá who had consulted the astrologers as to whether it would remain and how long. The answer was that it should stand 1,001 years and then be destroyed by a person of the name of Sikandar. The Rájá ordered this to be recorded on a copper plate and that this plate should be put in a copper box for safety under the temple. The Sultán is said to have remarked

on hearing the inscription read to him, that had the plate been on the wall he would not have destroyed the temple and thus would have upset the pretensions of the astrologers.

Sikandar by such acts as these earned for himself amongst Musalmáns the title of *Butshikan* or Iconoclast. Like the bigot he was, he forbad all use of wine in his dominions. He at last died of a burning fever in the year 819 A. H. after a reign of 20 years and 9 months. His death took place one year after the battle of Agincourt. Hence his persecution of the Brahmans was contemporaneous with the persecutions of the Lollards in England, and the result was much the same in both countries. Kashmír is now one of the head quarters of Brahmanism and lessons of intolerance learned 500 years ago seem not to have been forgotten.

*Alí Sher.*—Sikandar left three sons Mír Khán, to whom he gave the kingdom and the title Alí Sher, Sháhí Khán and Muhammad Khán.

When Alí Sher ascended the throne the converted Brahman Syah But was kept on as wazír. His treatment of his former co-religionists became more and more severe. The Brahmans fled the country until not so much as the sign of one remained. Syah But's persecutions soon came to an end for he was carried off by consumption. After his death Alí Sher determined to see the world. He made his brother Sháhí Khán, a young man of great ability, his viceroy during his absence. Going by the way of Jammu Alí Sher was persuaded to return to Kashmír to wrest the reins of government from Sháhí Khán. He was successful and Sháhí Khán became a fugitive in the direction of Siálkot where he met with a Ghakkar named Jasrat who had escaped from the hands of Taimúr in Samarqand and had attained to something like kingship in the Panjáb. Alí Sher followed him. But Sháhí Khán and Jasrat defeated him in a night attack and here he is lost to history. He had reigned six years and nine months when this event happened in 826 A. H. Some authorities say he went on a pilgrimage.

*Zain-ul-'Abidín.*—Sháhí Khán ascended the throne with the title of Zain-ul-'Abidín. The events of the long reign of this the greatest of the Sultáns of Kashmír are given without any reference to their chronological sequence. There is evidently a strong desire on the part of the historian to exaggerate. It is easy to tolerate this. We must make allowances. There is no doubt that the actions of the Sultán were worthy of being chronicled: they speak for themselves. For half a century and more Kashmír was blessed with the rule of this virtuous and tolerant prince.

His first recorded acts were those of conquest, the Panjab and Tibet,

with the aid of Jasrat, coming under his rule. Making his younger brother Muhammad Khán his wazír he gave himself to the administration of justice. He filled his court with the wise of the Musalmáns and Hindus. He himself knew music well. He spent his time in superintending the agricultural improvements of the country and in increasing the means of irrigation. He published a common order that if any theft occurred the headman of the village or town where the theft occurred should be held responsible. Thus theft was banished the country and the bad actions of Syah But were rendered harmless. He abolished also the food rates which Syah But had established. He wrote all his commands on copper tablets and sent them to every town and village. Srí Bihut was made physician and on his application the Brahmans whom Syah But's persecution had driven out of the country were re-called and had lands given to them. The poll tax on Hindus was abolished and the worship of idols was tolerated. The killing of cows was done away with. He made a covenant with the Hindus that he would rule them justly and according to their own law. Everything that Sikandar had abolished he restored, such as the *thíká* on the forehead and even *satí*. He forbade the acceptance of gifts by tahsíldárs. He forbade merchants to hide merchandize in their own houses, and compelled them to expose it for sale at a reasonable profit. He released all the prisoners of former kings. Whatever countries he conquered he divided the treasure obtained amongst his troops. He punished the rebellious and raised up those of low degree. He fed the poor in a moderate fashion, so that they might not "wax fat and kick." He himself kept to one woman,—his wife, and looked on none other with a desire to possess himself of her. He increased the length of the yard and chain. For his own private use he expended the proceeds of his copper mines only. As Sikandar had melted down gold and silver idols, for purposes of coinage, the king gave order that coin should be made of copper from his copper mines. (No *gold* coins of Sikandar have been found. But Zain-ul-'Abidín coined extensively in silver and brass. General Cunningham has I believe gold coins of Harsha Rájah, and the Lahore museum has a gold coin of Yúsaf Sultán.)

Every man was allowed to follow his own religion. No one could act with intolerance to another. All the Brahmans who had forcibly become Musalmáns in Sikandar's time returned to their old religion. The king brought a canal from the mountains and built a city five koss in circumference. He also made other canals and bridges. The cities he built he peopled with learned men and also with the homeless in order that travellers might be fed and the needy relieved. The whole of Kashmír became well-irrigated. In Ver Nág he made a large build-

ing which he called Lánká. This Ver Nág is a large pond, and the erection of a heavy building in it was accomplished much in the same way as the masonry in wells is supported on wooden foundations. The name given to this building was Lanká, but the purpose was Muhammadan. The building was a mosque. But Muhammadan poets and Hindu jogís were received by the king. His wise men solved all kinds of difficult questions at once.

One day a woman in the city got angry with her maid-servant. She wished even to kill her, but she could not accomplish it. So she killed her own child and went unto the king in the morning and said the maid had done it. The matter was laid before the wise men who could make nothing out of it at first. But afterwards they called the maid and asked whether she had done the deed or not. She protested her innocence and was told to show her confidence in her own cause by appearing naked before the assembly. This she refused to do saying she was not going to add to the evil of being accused the additional one of exposure and shame. She was then dismissed and her accuser was called. She was asked whether her accusation were true. She replied, "If it be not, kill me." The assembly replied, "No, but if you are guiltless, strip yourself naked before us." She was proceeding to do this when the king stopped her with, "The crime is yours." The guiltless maid was set free and the guilty woman punished.

The king did not execute persons for theft (he was three hundred years ahead of England) he put them in fetters and made them work at making bricks, &c. He also forbade hunting. During Ramzán he never ate flesh. When his liberality was known, musicians of note flocked to his court. Kashmír became another country with their presence. One scholar of Abdul Qádir of Khorásán was an excellent performer on the lute. Another Mullá Jamíl was both poet and singer. His name is a proverb in Kashmír for excellence in poetry. Jab, a celebrated maker of fireworks was also patronized by the Sultán. He made gunpowder in Kashmír and was well up in other sciences. Dancers too found a patron in Zain-ul-'Abidín. Acrobats made Kashmír their home. None went away unrewarded. Dasúm a Kashmírí poet wrote an account of the events of the Sultán's reign in a book called "*Zain Harab.*" Búdí But, a man who had committed to memory the whole of the Sháh Náma (a prodigious task) wrote a book on music which he repeated before the Sultán. Zain ul 'Abidín himself knew Persian, Hindí and Tibetan. According to his commands books were translated out of Arabic into Hindí, and Hindí books into Persian, &c. He ordered the Mahábhárata to be translated. By his orders *the* history of Kashmír, the Rajáh 'Taringiní was compiled. He also caused the history of Kashmír to be written in Persian.

Neghbouring rulers hearing of his fame became desirous of his friendship. Abú Saïd sent him a present of horses, mules and camels. The Sultán in return sent him some maunds of saffron, pepper, musk, itr, (otto-of-roses) vinegar, shawls, cups and goblets of crystal, and other rarities of Kashmír. The Rája of Tibet sent him two rare swans from the lake of Mansarowar. These pleased the king very much. (The historian adds that when milk and water were mixed together and placed before them, they separated the milk from the water with their bill, and drank the former and left the latter in the vessel.)

At the commencement of his reign he had appointed his younger brother prime minister and his heir. On his death *his* son Haidar was appointed to the offices held previously by his father. Zain-ul-Ábidín had three sons, 'Ádam Khán with whom the Sultán was always angry; Hájí Khán who was the beloved of his father; and Bahráam Khán his youngest son to whom many jágírs had been given.

Zain-ul-Ábidín must have been very rich for it is recorded of him that he gave a kror pieces of gold, (we are not told whether they were coins or not) 400 camel loads, for the repose of the soul of a man whom he had executed because he had been guilty of the death of his brother. (It is very strange that no gold coin of this Sultán has been found. Probably the historian means rupees. The words zar زر and tila تِلَا are however used in the text.)

In these days the Sultán fell sick. What the sickness was we are not told. But we are told how he was cured. A jogí came and said he could cure the king. He and his disciple gained admission to the king's chamber and after some time the jogí was taken away weak and faint. He said he had given the king his own spirit and had taken the king's spirit into his own body. The author is puzzled to account for the king's getting better. He supposes the jogí to have been a second Elijah and to have prayed over the king who at any rate recovered. The jogí was suitably rewarded.

It is more than we have a right to expect that Ádam Khán should be always content with his father's preference of Hájí Khán his next younger brother. Ádam returning from a successful expedition against Tibet (Tibet was the Algiers or Tunis of Kashmír in those days) brought with him much plunder and of course pleased his father. Hájí Khán was ordered to Lauharkot and Ádam was ordered to stay with the Sultán. Hájí went but without permission returned. He evidently thought Ádam was trying to work himself into the good graces of his father. The Sultán ordered Hájí back but he refused to go, and a battle was fought at Pulpul in which the elder brother and the Sultán were victorious. Hájí escaped to Bhimber. The king made a pyramid

of the heads of his opponents. The result of this rebellion was that Ádam Khán was made heir to the Sultán and after this there were six years of peace.

A famine is recorded about this time. The Sultán distributed amongst the people the contents of the granaries and although the famine was very severe it was met. It may have been owing to the famine (we do not know) that the king reduced the taxation to a fourth part of the produce in some places and to a seventh part in others.

Ádam Khán seems to have been a really bad man. In his government of Kamráj\* he was so oppressive that the people complained to the Sultán. Ádam rebelled. He was, however, quieted by some strange action of his father. But Zain-ul-Ábidín knew his two sons. He recalled Hájí Khán and with his aid he drove Ádam out of the valley. On returning home the Sultán presented his own sword to Hájí and made him his heir. When freed from his brother and at peace in Kashmír Hájí took to drinking and caused the Sultán much anxiety. At this juncture the king was seized with dysentery. Hájí being constantly intoxicated, the affairs of the kingdom became confused. The nobles therefore secretly recalled Ádam Khán and he came and saw the king, before whom he stated the condition of affairs and asked him to appoint his successor. This the king neglected to do. Bahrám, the youngest brother, made the most of this opportunity and sowed the seeds of dissension between Ádam and Hájí. The result was that Ádam retired to Kutub-ud-Dínpúr. The Sultán became worse daily. The nobles fearing the jealousies of the brothers would break out in disturbances, would not allow them to see him. Occasionally they placed the king on the throne and ordered the drum to be beaten as though nothing was amiss. Hájí and Bahrám went out daily armed against Ádam. The Sultán hearing of this became worse and lost the use of his limbs and became delirious. One night Ádam went into the city alone to see his father. On that night the nobles assembled to elect Hájí as successor to the throne. Ádam was expelled the city and Hájí obtaining possession of the king's stables and treasury was acknowledged Sultán. Ádam went by the Baramúlla pass to India. At this time Hasan Khán joined his father Hájí Khán from Poonch. This help was very opportune.

Zain-ul-Ábidín reigned in all 52 years. He died aged 69 in the year 877 A. H. His reign was long and to a certain extent prosperous. But its close is not a pleasant sight to contemplate. There was evidently no fixed and settled law in the land. Everything depended on the king. The nobles, as we have seen, now and then exercised

\* The valley of the Pohrí is called Kámráj. Pohrí joins the Jhelum on the right bank just below Sopúr. Kámráj is therefore the N. W. valley of Kashmír.

certain functions. But their position and their privileges were undefined. There were elements of stability and lawfulness in the land, but they wanted to be worked up. There was no idea of freedom and without this, these very elements of stability became each a nucleus of selfishness and intrigue. The results were soon seen in the anarchy which ensued under the rule of nominal kings who were placed on the throne as a mark for the machinations of the different parties who were seeking pre-eminence for purposes of self-aggrandisement and plunder.

(Of three historians whom I have consulted one gives the death of Zain-ul-Ábidín in 884 A. H. and another in 878, and the third in 877 A. H. Now the coins of Haidar the successor of Zain-ul-Ábidín have on them 874 A. H., and he reigned as we shall see only one year and two months. Hence if the coins are right, all the historians are wrong. I incline to think the coins are correct.)

*Haidar Sháh.*—Hájí Khán taking the title of Haidar Sháh was crowned king, his brother Bahrám and his son Hasan placing the crown upon his head. The province of Kamráj was given to Hasan in jágír with the title of Amír-ul-Umrá and heir-apparent. Bahrám received as his jágír the province of Nágám.\* Haidar satisfied only a portion of the nobles who came to his coronation. Many returned dissatisfied. As the Sultán was unacquainted with the country, these nobles oppressed their people as much as they liked. Haidar made his barber Lúlú his confidante and favourite. This low fellow at once showed his nature by taking bribes from all quarters, and by leading the Sultán into all kinds of evil. Hasan Khán Kachhí a worthy noble, was executed by Lúlú. At this time Ádam Khán, having gathered together an army arrived in Jammú, but when he heard of the fate of Hasan Kachhí he advanced no further. He stayed in Jammú and made himself useful in resisting the Moguls who were then troubling the country. In a skirmish he was hit in the face with an arrow and killed. Haidar, hearing of his death, had his corpse removed to Kashmír and caused it to be buried near the tomb of his father. Meanwhile the king's inebriety became confirmed and at last he became ill. The nobles secretly desired to make Bahrám king. The son of Ádam Khán, Fath Khán, hearing of this in Sirhind where he was engaged in reducing forts and towns by order of Haidar, returned suddenly to Kashmír with much plunder. But his coming was not acceptable to the king. Things came rapidly to a crisis however. For Haidar one day getting intoxicated fell from the roof of his house and was killed after a reign of 14 months.†

*Hasan Sháh.*—By the exertions of Ahmad Aswad (the Black)

\* Nágám, South of Srínagar in the lower hills.

† For Coin of Haidar, see No. 31, Pl. III.



Hasan the son of Haidar was proclaimed king. His opponents were imprisoned. The treasuries of the Sultán were opened and much money was distributed. Ahmad was made prime minister and his son Nauroz was made kotwál of the city. Bahrám Khán seeing the kingship had slipped out of his hands fled in the direction of India. Hasan began by renewing the edicts of Zain-ul-'Abidín which in the reign of Haidar had fallen into disuse. For this reason several discontented nobles fled to Bahrám Khán and got him ready for an invasion of Kashmír. Others wrote letters to him and invited him to the country. Bahrám returned by the way of the mountains to Kamráj. At last a battle was fought in which Bahrám and his son were captured. They were both thrown into prison. After awhile Bahrám was deprived of his eyesight by a needle being drawn through the eyes *میل در چشم کشید* and he died after a short interval from the agonies endured in this fearful operation.

It seems that an enemy of Ahmad's by name Zain Badr a wazír of Zain-ul-'Abidín's was one of the principals in this dreadful business. Hasan Sháh had him at once apprehended and with the very needle that Bahrám had had his eyesight destroyed, he himself was rendered blind. He remained in prison for three years after this and then died. Ahmad Aswad thus became strong. He sent Malik Bári Bihut to assist the Rájah of Jammú, against Tátár Khán, who had been sent by the emperor of Dehlí to govern the Panjáb, and who was harassing the borders of Kashmír. They plundered some parts of the Panjáb and destroyed the town of Síálkot.

Hasan had two sons by Haiyát Khátún daughter of Syud Hasan, one was named Muhammad who was confided to the care of Malik Bári Bihut; the other Husain was given into the hands of Malik Nauroz the son of Ahmad Aswad to be educated. The usual thing happened. Ahmad Aswad and Bári Bihut got at loggerheads with each other. They each tried to oust the other. The nobles took up the quarrel. At last things grew to such a pitch that they fought in the very presence of the king. Malik Ahmad Aswad fared the worse of the two. He was sent to prison with numbers of his followers and all his goods were confiscated and he himself died in prison. Sultán Hasan then recalled to Kashmír an exile named Syad Násir who had been near Zain-ul-'Abidín, but the Syad died when near the Pír Panjál pass. For this reason the Sultán sent to Dehlí for his wife's grandfather Syad Hasan. The new comer soon turned the nobles against the Sultán and besides this executed great numbers of them. He also imprisoned Malik Bári. The rest of the nobles seeing this fled. Jahángír Mákarí in his flight found refuge in Lauharkot. At last Hasan Sháh from over uxoriousness *از كثرت جماع* drew nigh unto death. In his last moments he con-

signed his children into hands he thought worthy of the charge. He appointed Yúsuf Khán, the son of Bahrám Khán, who was in prison and Fath Khán son of Adam Khán who was in Jasroth their guardians and Muhammad Khán his successor. Sayyid Hasan outwardly concurred. The Sultán shortly after died. The historian adds "the duration of his reign is not known." One MS. I have consulted says he died in 897 A. H. Prinsep puts in it 891 A. H. His silver coins are dated 876 A. H. on the obverse in figures. According to Farishtah this is one year before the death of Zain-ul-'Abidín. The histories I am inclined regard as mistaken. The reverses of the coins adhere to the 842 in words of Zain-ul-'Abidín's coins. Hence it was all the more necessary to put the real date of the king somewhere on the coin. They therefore placed *it in figures on the obverse along with the name.* See figs. 3 and 4, Pl. I.

*Muhammad Sháh, 1st time.*—Muhammad Sháh was but 7 years of age when his father died. Sayyid Hasan was the chief agent in securing the throne for his grandson. Regencies have always been prolific in disturbances even in countries where there is a settled law. We shall not be surprised therefore to find that, in Kashmír, where there was no law of succession, the disturbances were many and frequent.

When the treasury was opened to the young king, and the wealth of the state and its resources were exhibited to him, he is said to have laid hold of a bow rather than on the gold and silver. From this the Kashmírís augured that he would prove a brave and warlike ruler.

But the Sayyids were at that time all-powerful in council. No one could approach the king. At that time the Rájah of Jammú was a refugee in Kashmír, from the tyranny of Tátár Khán Lodí the governor of the Panjáb. The Kashmírís getting the Rájah to help them murdered Sayyid Hasan, and thirty of his slaves, and then crossing the Jhelum destroyed the bridge. Meanwile Sayyid Muhammad, uncle of the king, took care of him. Another Sayyid murdered the son of Bahrám Khán in prison because a section of the community desired to raise him to the throne. The upshot of things was that the Sayyids and the popular party came to blows. The city became a prey to both parties. Jahángír Mákarí of Lauharkot was invited to assist against the Sayyids. His son Dáúd Khán Mákarí was sent. But in an engagement with the Sayyids he was slain, together with numbers of his friends. Pyramids were made of the heads of the slain. The next day the battle was renewed on the bridge, which, breaking in the middle of the battle caused great loss on both sides. At this juncture the Sayyids asked Tátár Khán Lodí to assist them. He sent a large army, but when it arrived at Bhimber it was destroyed. The cause of the Sayyids became desperate. The popular party began to look up and take heart. The city was plundered by the

latter and destroyed by fire. In this fire 10,000 men are said to have lost their lives. This occurred in 892 A. H. The Sayyids were entirely defeated and expelled the country. The popular party got the king into their power and on their side. Paras Rám, the Rájah of Jammú was rewarded and dismissed.

The popular leaders being thus left to themselves, each one began to seek place and power for himself. In the midst of this confusion Fath Khan, grandson of Zain-ul-'Abidín gathering an army prepared to contest the throne with Muhammad Sháh. He proceeded as far as Rájáorí, but in a battle fought at Adún he was defeated as Jahángír Mákarí kept true to the popular party. In a second battle he was again defeated. He then went to Jammú where collecting an army he prepared to invade Kashmír a second time. Jahángír Mákarí, who seems to have been recognized as the head of the popular party recalled the Sayyids who had been exiled and joined them to his side. In the battle which was fought with Fath Khán many of the Sayyids were slain and the rest remained faithful. So Fath Khán was again defeated. But he was not turned from his purpose. Again collecting an army he a third time invaded Kashmír and was successful. Muhammad Sháh was made over to him and Saifí Wángarí was appointed his keeper. Jahángír Mákarí fled and hid himself. Sayyid Muhammad, the father-in-law of Muhammad Sháh joined himself to Fath Khán. Muhammad Sháh had reigned 10 years and 7 months, Farishtah says, but other authorities say 2 years and 7 months. The copper coins of Muhammad Sháh abound. The dates on the reverse of them in Arabic words are as a rule perfectly unintelligible. His silver coins are very rare. All I have seen yet have had the date in words on their reverse 842 A. H. I have seen four with the date 842 A. H. on the obverse under the name. (See figs. 5 and 6, pl. I and fig. 32, pl. III). They do not help us in the slightest in the history of Kashmír. They only add to our confusion.

Fath Khán came to the throne in 894 A. H. and assumed the title of Fath Sháh. The prince Muhammad Sháh was therefore but a lad of about 10 years of age. (Just about this time in England, Edward V and his young brother were murdered in the Tower. Fath Sháh was not so bad as Richard III. He ordered the food and drink of the prince to be prepared according to his order and gave him a place in the palace along with his own brothers.)

Fath Sháh made Saifí Vánkarí or as another authority has it Saif-dár his prime minister. This Saifí was famous for his justice. At this time a new religious teacher named Mír Shamsí came into Kashmír from Persia. He initiated the people in the Shía doctrines under the

semblance of teaching Sufiism. After the death of this teacher a quarrel arose between his followers and the other Muhammadans, and to that extent was it carried on, that the rival parties fought in the very presence of the Sultán.

Muhammad Sháh was taken out of prison by Malik Ajhí and Malik Zína, but when they found he was not particularly favourable to their plot, they tried to put him in prison again. Hearing of this he fled to his father's place.

After this Fath Sháh must have become reconciled to his two ministers, for the history says that he divided Kashmír between them and himself, each taking one-third. More than this he made Malik Ajhí his prime minister and Sankar his Chief Justice. (Here we have great confusion. Malik Ajhí is called in other books Malik Gájí or Gází Chakk, while Sankar or Vánkarí is called Saifdár.) A story is given of the justice of the prime minister. A quarrel had arisen as to the possession of a ball of silk. The plaintiff and defendant each swore it was his. The Prime Minister asked whether it had been wound on the fingers or on a spindle. Plaintiff said "on the fingers:" defendant, "on the spindle." They unwound the ball and found that it had been wound on the fingers, hence it was made over to the plaintiff.

After some time had passed Ibrahim the son of Jahángír Mákarí went to Muhammad Sháh and brought him back to Kashmír. A great battle was fought near Kohásála in which Fath Sháh was defeated and he fled by the way of Hírapúr into India having reigned nine years. (There is the greatest confusion in the histories of this period. Saifí reigned in reality not Fath Sháh. A Malik Musá Zína, named above, obtained supreme power. After him Ibrahim reigned 40 days. Then Malik Osmán reigned two months. Then Jahángír Mákarí had an innings. Most of these nobles attained supreme power a second time before Muhammad Sháh's restoration.)

*Muhammad Sháh. 2nd Time.*—Muhammad Sháh obtaining the throne a second time made his helper thereto his prime minister and appointed Sikandar Khán his heir. The sons of Ibrahim Mákarí put Malik Ajhí to death in prison. Fath Sháh soon after this returned with a mighty host and Muhammad Sháh not being able to meet him in the field fled without a battle being fought. He had reigned only 9 months and 9 days.

*Fath Sháh. 2nd Time.*—Fath Sháh on ascending the throne of Kashmír a second time made Jahángír Badrah his prime minister and Sankar Zína his chief justice. He reigned with great judgment. Muhammad Sháh being defeated took refuge with Sikandar Lodí of Dehlí, who sent a large army to help him. Jahángír Badrah being dissatisfied with Fath

Sháh went over to Muhammad Sháh and brought him by way of Rájáorí to Kashmír. Fath Sháh made Jahángír Mákari general of the van of his army. In the battle which ensued Fath Sháh was defeated, and that general together with his son was slain. Fath Sháh himself fled to India and there died. (The *Tawaríkh-i Kashmír* places this event in 925 A. H.)

*Muhammad Sháh. 3rd Time.*—Muhammad Sháh on assuming the reins of government for the 3rd time imprisoned Sankar Zíná and made Malik Gájí Chakk, who was famous for his bravery and wisdom, his prime minister. This Gájí was famous for his discernment. One instance is given. A writer had a wife. By accident he left her for some time. She, during his absence, becoming impatient, married a second husband. On the first husband appearing again on the scene, a quarrel arose. The woman gave the lie to her first husband. To settle the matter, the three resorted to Gájí Chakk. As there were no witnesses, he had recourse to his own wit and said to the woman: "I believe you to be a truthful person and the writer to be a liar, kindly put some water into my inkstand, in order that I may write you a deed of separation from him, that, in the future he may give you no trouble." The woman, who probably cared more for her second husband, put in the water with great care. Gájí again ordered her to put in a little more. She did so, using the same care as before. Seeing her thus desirous of obtaining the ink for the deed of separation, the Malik at once turned to the officers of his court and said—"This woman is the wife of the writer." She at last confessed that this was the truth and the case of the second husband was dismissed, let us hope, with costs. (I have no doubt that Gájí Chakk is Ajhí whose death is announced in the 2nd Time of Muhammad Sháh's rule. Anachronisms like these abound in the confusion of the period.)

When Muhammad Sháh became finally settled on the throne he punished Saifí Vánkarí and others who had opposed him. Sankar Zíná had died before. The body of Fath Sháh was brought to Kashmír and was buried near the tomb of Zain-ul-'Ábidín in 922. (According to *Tawaríkh-i Kashmír*, 925 A. H.) Malik Gájí Chakk imprisoned Ibrahim, but his son Abdál Mákari went to India and thence getting help he brought Sikandar Khán the son of Fath Sháh and proclaimed him king. ( *برداشتنه بشاهي* is the phrase used.) It says nothing about coins or I should be inclined to assign my first silver coin No. 1, pl. I to this Sikandar). Gájí Chakk and Muhammad Sháh made preparations in Nolpín in the Parganna of Máhekal. This was in 931 A. H. Sikandar, not being able to meet them took refuge in the fort of Nágám. Gájí Chakk sent his son Mas'aúd against him but he was killed. Neverthe-

less Sikandar being unsuccessful in Nágám fled from it. قلعه ناگام گذاشته (there is a pun here we cannot reproduce in English). The Mákari following fled along with him. Muhammad Sháh then became firmly seated on the throne. As usual, the king, listening to Gájí Chakk's enemies, drank in their calumnious accusation, and turned against the man who had made him king: Gájí being under suspicion went off to Rájáori and there joined the Rájah of that part. During this time Sikandar Khán, obtaining help from the Mughal Bábar took possession of Lanharkot. Malik Bári brother of Gájí Chakk hearing of this attacked him and taking him prisoner sent him to the king, who being pleased with such loyalty became reconciled to Gájí Chakk and restored him again to office. Poor Sikandar had the needle drawn through his eyes and once more Muhammad Sháh was at peace.

It seems that when Muhammad Sháh took refuge with Ibrahim Lodhí at Dehlí he took with him his son Ibrahim Khán. This son was kept at Dehlí by the Emperor, while the father was sent to Kashmir with a large army. Now at the time of the affair of Sikandar Khán, Ibrahim Lodhí owing to disturbances in Dehlí took refuge in Kashmir. Malik Gájí Chakk, who was displeased with the king for blinding Sikandar Khán, by every means he could devise, threw all the courtiers of Muhammad Sháh into prison and then imprisoned the king himself and made Ibrahim Khán king. (Here again comes the phrase *پشاهي درداشته* hence we must own that Sikandar also was proclaimed king and therefore that he probably struck coins.) Muhammad Sháh had reigned 11 years 11 months and 11 days.

*Ibrahim Sháh.*—Ibrahim Sháh made Malik Gájí Chakk his prime minister. Abdál Mákari son of Ibrahim Mákari having fled from the tyranny of Gájí Chakk went to the court of Bábar and asked from him help in the shape of an army wherewith he might conquer Kashmir. This was granted and Shaikh Alí Beg and Mahmúd Khán were appointed its generals. Abdál perceiving that the Kashmirís would despise the Mughal soldiers pretended he was coming to promote the claims of Názuk Sháh (Nádir?) the son of Ibrahim Sháh. Malik Gájí Chakk, bringing with him the king Ibrahim, advanced to meet Abdál as far as Saláh in the parganna of Bánkul. Abdál sent a message to Gájí saying that as he was come with a Mughal army from Bábar the conqueror of Ibrahim Lodhí, whose army had exceeded five hundred thousand soldiers, it would be well for him at once to swear allegiance to this all-powerful sovereign, or if not to fight at once. Gájí, like a true soldier, preferred to fight. In the battle which ensued the slaughter was very great: many nobles of Ibrahim were slain, amongst whom were Malik Tází and Shere Malik. After the battle Gájí fled to the mountains, and

it is not known what became of Ibrahím Sháh : he disappeared no one knows where or how or in what direction. He had reigned 8 months and 5 days. (For a coin of our Ibrahim Sháh, see No. 16, Pl. II.)

*Názuk Sháh (Nádir ?)*.—Názuk Sháh (I retain this word because all the MSS. seem to have it, but all the coins have Nádir) on ascending the throne of his forefathers, set himself to encourage the natives of Kashmír, who were uneasy about the Mughals. The natives were pleased with him and took him to Náoshera the old capital of the Sultáns of Kashmír. Abdál Mákari became his prime minister. He pursued Malik Gájí Chakk to the confines of Jahalnagarí, but could not take him prisoner. He then returned and busied himself in the settlement of Kashmír. He divided the country into four parts, one he kept himself, one he gave to Shaikh Mír Ali, and one was given to the soldiers. (A MS. in the British Museum adds, one was given to Lanhar Mákari and one to Malik Zangí Chakk.) To the allies he had obtained from Bábar he gave many presents and dismissed them in the direction of India. Then he sent a letter of harsh rebuke to Malik Gájí Chakk, but Muhammad Sháh he again recalled from his prison of Lanharkot and the two entered Kashmír as friends and thus Muhammad Sháh was again set upon the throne.

*Muhammad Sháh. 4th Time.*—Muhammad Sháh as a tribute of gratitude to Názuk Sháh who had reigned 20 years and 20 months (?) made him the heir-apparent. In this year died Bábar the first Mughal Emperor of Dehlí and he was succeeded by Nasír-ud-Dín Muhammad Humáyún. This we know was in the year 937 A. H. Here we get therefore to land at last. The whole of the reigns of Muhammad Sháh and his rivals is one tangled mass of confusion. There is no reliance whatever to be placed in a historian when he makes a man reign exactly the same number of years, months and days. We read 11 years and 11 months and 11 days and 20 years and 20 months! No two histories agree. One MS. in the British Museum omits Názuk Sháh altogether. Many men undoubtedly ascended the throne in this time of confusion. The date of Abdál Mákari's invasion of Kashmír with the aid of the Mughals is placed in a MS. in the British Museum at 935 A. H. This would make the reign of Názuk Sháh more like 20 months in length. We may I think take the above date 937 A. H. as correct. After a year Malik Gájí Chakk, who had taken refuge in the mountains returned and beseiged Kahrár, Abdál Mákari went to meet him and defeating him pursued him to Bhír. At this time the Panjáb was governed by Kámrán, the brother of Humáyún, Shaikh Alí Beg and Muhammad Khán the leaders of the allies who had helped Abdál Mákari, and who had left him without permission, went to Kámrán and represented to him how easy it would be to conquer

Kashmír by their assistance. Kámrán at once consented to do so and appointed Muharram Beg to co-operate with these two worthies. As soon as the Kashmírís heard of the approach of the Mughals they fled for fear to the mountains leaving all they possessed in their houses. The Mughal soldiers plundered and burnt to their hearts' content: all the Kashmírís who dared to leave the mountains to fight for their homes were slain. At first Abdál Mákarí thought Malik Gájí Chakk was at the bottom of this invasion. When he found, however, that he was not in the Mughal army, he sent for him and his sons and entered into a compact with them. Joining their forces together, the two leaders took heart and, attacking the Mughals, utterly routed them and drove them back to their own country. But after this Malik Gájí Chakk could not endure the prosperity of Abdál, so he betook himself to Bhír and there resided. In this year, which was 939 A. H. (the MS. in the British Museum agrees with this date) the Sultán of Káshgar, Saíd Sháh, sent his son Sikandar Khán together with Mírzá Haidar and 12,000 soldiers by the way of Tibet and Lár to invade Kashmír. The inhabitants, fearing the hardy valour of the central Asians fled from their homes in all directions and took refuge in the mountains. The invaders, finding everything open before them, destroyed the palaces of the olden kings and levelled them with the dust. The city was burnt. The treasury and the buried treasures were plundered, and the whole army of invaders was laden with goods and gold. Wherever the Kashmírís were found hidden they were pursued and slain or imprisoned. This state of things lasted for six months. Meanwhile Maliks Gájí Chakk and Abdál Mákarí, together with other nobles, took refuge in Chakdara. But not agreeing to stay there, they went to Kháwara and Báradár. From this place by the way of Bádah they descended from the mountains and engaged in battle with the Mughals, the leaders of whom were quite willing to risk an engagement. The encounter was long and bloody. Many great and brave men on both sides were slain. The Kashmírís at one time wished to turn their backs on the field, but Malik Gájí Chakk exhorted them to play the man and remain firm. They also obtained the aid of more Kashmírís. The slaughter on both sides was awful—the dead were numberless. The struggle lasted from morning till night. In the evening the prisoners were numbered on both sides and were liberated and both armies were ready to accept peace. The Káshgar party, taking with them presents of wool, hawks, and precious things, went to Muhammad Sháh and asked his daughter in marriage to Sikandar Khán, and desired that the women whom the Mughals had in their hands, should there remain. Peace being thus concluded, the central Asians returned to their homes, and peace once more reigned in



Kashmir. In this year two comets appeared and their advent was succeeded by a great famine so severe that many people perished with hunger while others fled into exile rather than remain in their own land to starve. The massacre of Zuljír was regarded no less severe than this famine in its effects. It (the famine) lasted ten months. When the orchards bore fruit it disappeared. No sooner was the country freed from external enemies and internal troubles than the leaders of the people Gájí Chakk and Abdál Mákarí disagreed. The former took up his residence at Zainpúr and the latter remained in office as wazír. Governors and rulers did as they liked. No man obtained justice. After a short time Muhammad Sháh died of fever, having reigned 50 years. Before his death, he distributed all the gold he had amongst the poor of the country. This 50 years must reckon from 891 A. H. and include all the reigns of Fath Sháh and Názuk Sháh.

*Shams-ud-Dín.*—It seems that this prince Shams-ud-Dín sat on the throne of his father Muhammad Sháh. Guided by his ministers he divided the whole of Kashmír amongst the nobles. The people were pleased with his rule. Gájí Chakk and Abdál Mákarí renewed their disagreement and the former got possession of the young prince and took him in the direction of Kúswár. Abdál Mákarí opposed him, but the two agreeing he withdrew to Kamráj where his states were while Gájí Chakk and the king went to Srínagar. Again Abdál Mákarí showed uneasiness and again quiet was restored. Nothing more is known of the history of this king. (The two coins I assign to him are very poor indeed. Nos. 11 and 12, pl. I. The obverses are so illegible I have not drawn them. I have not seen a copper coin of this king yet. It is just possible that these silver coins may be those of the first Sultán.)

*Názuk Sháh. 2nd Time.*—After his father Názuk sat on the throne of the kingdom. (His father we are told was Ibrahím Sháh. There is confusion again here.) He had not, however, reigned more than five or six months when Mírzá Haidar Turk, having obtained a firm footing in Kashmír ruled it. In his time the Khutba was read and coins were struck in the name of *Násir-ud-Dín Muhammad Humáyún Bádsháh*. (The coins of Humáyún struck in Kashmír are exceedingly rare. They are exactly of the same type as those of the preceding kings. There are some small differences in the inscriptions in the arrangements of the letters. (See Nos. 13 and 14, pl. I.) One coin has a  $\zeta$  in the field to the right, which I consider to be the first letter of Haidar's name. (See No. 33, pl. III.) The dates of the coins fall within the period during which Mírzá Haidar ruled Kashmír nominally in his master's name. But all these ten years poor Humáyún was a fugitive in Sind

and Persia and Affghánistán and he never derived any benefit from the fact that prayers were used in Kashmír with his name in them, and coins current with his name on them.)

In the year 948 A. H. when Humáyún, flying before Sher Sháh Súrí, reached Lahore, Malik Abdál Mákarí, Zangí Chakk and other petitioners wrote about Humáyún's taking Kashmír and sent the letter by the hands of Mírzá Haidar. The emperor dismissed the Mírzá in the direction of Kashmír and gave it out as his intention to follow shortly himself. When the Mírzá arrived at Bhír he was met by Abdál Mákarí and Zangí Chakk. The Mírzá had with him only three or four thousand horsemen, but when he arrived at Rájáorí, Malik Gájí Chakk who was the ruler of Kashmír, arrived at Khabal Kartal (it is called Karmal by Erskine) and entrenched himself with from three to four thousand horsemen and 50,000 infantry. Mírzá Haidar therefore changed his route and went by Pabhaj (the Pamíj of Erskine) which Gájí Chakk in his pride had forgotten to defend. The Mírzá crossed the mountains and descending into the plain of Kashmír took possession at once of Srínagar. Abdál Mákarí and Zangí Chakk finding themselves strong, busied themselves with the affairs of the kingdom, and they gave several pergunnahs to the Mírzá. But just at this time Abdál Mákarí, died after recommending his sons to the care of the Mírzá.

After the arrival of Mírzá Haidar in Kashmír, Malik Gájí Chakk went to Sher Sháh Afghán for assistance. He obtained five thousand horsemen, over whom were Husain Sharvání and Adil Khán; and two elephants. Mírzá Haidar met him between Danahdyár and Káwah, and the zephyr of victory blowing in favour of the Mírzá, the Malik and his Affghán allies fled from the field and took possession of Bahrámgalla.

In the year 950 A. H. Mírzá Haidar settled himself in the fort of Indarkot. Zangí Chakk being suspected by him fled to Gájí Chakk and in 951 A. H. the two set out, in the direction of Srínagar, determined to root out Mírzá Haidar. Bahrám Chakk, son of Zangí Chakk arrived first at Srínagar, but he was easily put to flight by two of the Mírzá's generals, and his disorganized troops falling back on the main army Zangí Chakk and Gájí Chakk also fled and returned to Bahrámgalla. After this the Mírzá employed his army in invading Tibet. He took Lansúr and many other large forts.

In 952 A. H. Gájí Chakk and his son Muhammad Chakk died of fever and ague. This year the Mírza spent in ease.

In 953 A. H. Zangí Chakk fighting with Mírzá Haidar was killed. His head with the head of his son Gází Khán were presented to Haidar.

In 954 A. H. ambassadors came to the Mírzá from Káshgar and he went with many nobles as far as Lár to meet them. In Lár the head of

Khwája U'jh son of Masaúd Chakk was brought to him. This man had for the space of seven years been fighting in Kamráj, but at last he had desired peace. Mírzá Mírak, swearing that all should be right, asked him to attend on him to make a treaty. But when U'jh came into the assembly he was stabbed by Mírak and he fled to the jungle pursued by Mírak who took his head off and sent it to Mírzá Haidar. Íde Zíná was far from pleased at seeing it, and, standing up in anger said, that after an oath and covenant had been made the slaughter of one man was not necessary. Haidar replied that he was not privy to the circumstances of the death.

After this Mírzá Haidar turned his attention to Kishtwár. Bandagán Kukah, Muhammad Mákari and Yahí Zíná led the van. The Mírzá took up his abode at Jhápúr near Kishtwár. The van, doing three days' journey in one descended on Dahlot, where the river winds, and they were not able to ford it, for the enemy too opposed them. The next day the army of Haidar made a diversion to the right in hopes of reaching Kishtwár, but when they reached the town of Dhár, gusts of cold air laden with dust came down upon them, the day became dark and the people of the town made an attack on them. Bandagán Kukah with five other men was slain. The rest of the army with a thousand exertions at last joined themselves with Haidar. The Mírzá was not successful: he was obliged to retrace his steps ingloriously.

In 955 he turned his attention to Tibet. Taking Rájáorí he gave it to Muhammad Nazír and Násir Alí. Paklí he gave to Mulla Abdullah and Little Tibet he gave to Mullah Qásim. Conquering Great Tibet, he appointed Mulla Hasan its governor.

In 956 he took the fort of Danel. At this time Ádam Ghakkar came before the Mírzá and asked him to pardon Daulat Chakk. He agreed to do so and Ádam called Daulat into the tent. The Mírzá, on his coming in, showed him no honour. For this reason Daulat became very angry, and taking away the elephant he had brought as a present, he went away. The courtiers wished to pursue him but the Mírzá forbade them. After some time Haidar returned to Kashmír. Daulat Chakk and Gází Khan and Jai Chakk went to Haidar Khán who had fled from Islám Sháh to Rájáorí. When Islám Sháh who was pursuing the Niyázis arrived at the town of Madawár from Naoshahra, Haibat Khán Niyází sent Sayyid Khán to him. Sayyid Khán making propositions of peace gave up the mother and son of Haibat Khán Niyází to Islám Sháh who turning back went to the town of Bán near Siáلكot and agreed to the conditions. The three Kashmírís above-mentioned then took Haibat Khán to Baramúla and wished to take him to Kashmír, and carry away Haidar. As Haibat did not see his way to doing this he sent

a Bráhmaṇ to Haidar with conditions of peace. When he had received a promise from Haidar he went to live at Hír (Nír in MS. No. 6571 opening 190 in British Museum) in Jammú and the Kashmírís went to Islám Sháh. Ghazí Khán Chakk, however, went to Mírzá Haidar. (It is evident that at this time the Kashmírís were tired of Haidar. They wished Islám Sháh to be king. We do not read that Islám ever went so far as Kashmír. The nobles, however, must have struck coins in his name, using the formula *struck in Kashmír* on the reverse. I have seen two coins of Islám Sháh of this time. No. 15, pl. I is of this king. It was a common practice to strike coins anticipating events which did not come to pass. The date on this coin is 957 A. H. It may have been struck by Haidar as a compliment to Islám Sháh.)

In the year 957 A. H. Mírzá Haidar being at peace with his neighbours sent presents of saffron to Islám Sháh by the hands of Khwájah Shams Mughal. In the following year Islám Sháh sent the ambassadors back with presents of silk cloth and goods accompanied by Yásín (Básín in above MS.) as envoy. Mírzá Haidar sent back Yásín laden with shawls and saffron to Islám Sháh.

Mírzá Qarrá Bahádur was appointed governor of Bhirpul (or Bharmal) and along with him were sent from amongst the Kashmírís Ídí Zíná and Názuk Sháh, Husain Mákarí and Khwájah Hájí. The whole of these with Mírzá Qarrá came back to Indarkot and went thence to Bárámúla and became rebellious. The reason of this rebellion was that the Mughals (the forces of Mírzá Haidar) were not acceptable to them. When the Mughals informed the Mírzá of this he told them they were no less ready than the Kashmírís to rebel. Husain Mákarí sent his brother Alí Mákarí to Mírzá Haidar to make excuse for the Kashmírís and to call again the army. Haidar was not aware of the condition of things, and told them that the Kashmírís were powerless and that there was no use in calling the army.

On the 27th of Ramzán a great fire burst out in Indarkot. Mírzá Qarrá and his following sent word that their houses were destroyed, and asked for orders saying that if convenient they would rebuild their houses and next year go to Bhirpul. Mírzá Haidar was displeased at this conduct. Nevertheless whether he would or not the army went towards Bhirpul. At night time, however, Ídí Zíná and the rest of the Kashmírís left the Mughals and came to the pass of Bhirpul and took with them Husain Mákarí, Alí Mákarí and others in order that they might not be slain by the Mughals. When it was morning the men of Bhirpul fought with the Mughals who were fastened in the mountains. Sayyid Mírzá fled and went into the fort of Bhirpul. About 80 Mughals, men of note were slain in this affair. Muhammad Nazír and Mírzá

Qarrá Bahádur were captured. The rest of the army came to Bahrám-galla. When Mírzá Haidar heard of this he was sorely vexed and ordered all the silver vessels to be broken and the coin now current in Kashmír was struck from them. Jahángír Mákari at this time got into favour and the estates of Husain Mákari were bestowed upon him. Tradespeople had horses and outfits given to them and were made soldiers. After this news came that Mulla Abdullah, hearing of the exodus of the Kashmírís, was coming to Kashmír. When he got near to Baramúla the Kashmírís crowded on him and slew him. Khwájah Qásim was slain in little Tibet. Muhammad Nazír was imprisoned in Rájáori. The Kashmírís leaving Bahrám-galla came to Hambarapúr. Mírzá Haidar was thus forced to fight them and he came to Indarkot. He had with him only a thousand men. With him were Mughal nobles who had 700 men more. The whole took up a position in Shaháb-ud-Dín-púr. Daulat Chakk and Ghází Khán Chakk went to Hambarapúr to help Ydí Ziná and coming from that place assembled in Khánpúr. Mírzá Haidar took up his position in the plain of Khálidgarh near Srínagar. Fath Chakk, whose father had been slain by the Mughals, Khwájah Bahrám brought, with 3,000 men to Indarkot to revenge his father's death. They burned all the palaces of Mírzá Haidar in the Safá gardens. When Mírzá Haidar heard of this he said, "I have not brought this from Káshgar that I might by the grace of God, again build it." Jai Alí in revenge burnt the palaces of Zain-ul-'Ábidin in Suryápúr, but this did not please Mírzá Haidar and the army burnt the palaces of Ydí Ziná and Nauroz Chakk in Srínagar. Mírzá Haidar himself took up a position in Khánpúr in which place was a willow tree under which 22 horsemen could stand. If one branch of this tree were shaken the whole tree was moved. At last the Kashmírís came from Khánpúr and took up a position at Adnipúr and not more than a distance of two kos remained between the two armies. Mírzá Haidar determined to make a night attack on the enemy. He first of all made his own younger brother Mírzá Abdur Rahmán his heir-apparent and inaugurated him, then getting his men into order he prepared for the night attack. It so happened that the night was very cloudy and when he got to the tent of Khwájah Hájí who was the soul of the rebellion and the agent of the Mírzá, the darkness hid everything. Sháh Nazar a cuirassier of Mírzá Haidar said, "When I shot an arrow the voice of the Mírzá fell on my ear, saying, 'you are at fault.' I then knew that the arrow had accidentally struck the Mírzá." It is also said that a butcher shot him in the thigh with an arrow. In another tradition it is stated that Kamál Kúka killed him with a sword. But except an arrow-wound in his heart no other thing was visible. In reality this is the sum of the traditions. When morning

dawned it became noised abroad amongst the Kashmírís that a Mughal was lying slain in their camp. When Khwájah Hájí came to view the corpse, he said it was that of Haidar. He held up the head from the earth but nothing but the last breath remained. He moved his eyes and gave up the ghost. After this the Mughals fled to Indarkot and the Kashmírís buried the corpse of Haidar and then pursued the Mughals. They took refuge in Indarkot and for three days defended themselves. On the fourth day Muhammad Rúmí loaded the cannon with copper coins and fired them on the enemy. Every one who was struck with them died. At last, however, Khánmai, the widow of Mírzá Haidar, and her sister Khánjí spoke to the Mughals and said, "Inasmuch as Mírzá Haidar has departed from our midst, it would be better to make peace with the Kashmírís." The Mughals agreed to this and sent Amír Khán, builder, to the Kashmírís to ask for peace. The Kashmírís were pleased at this and wrote a letter with oath and covenant that they would not persecutè the Mughals any more. The government of Haidar Turk lasted for ten years.

*Názuk Sháh. 3rd Time.*—When the doors of the fort were opened, the Kashmírís went into the treasury of Mírzá Haidar and plundered it, taking away the beautiful and delicate garments it contained. The family of the Mírzá was taken to Srínagar and placed in the hands of Manújá. The Kashmírí chiefs then divided Kashmir between themselves. Daulat Chakk got the pargannah of Deosar, Ghází Khán the pargannah of Wáhí; Yúsuf Chakk and Bahrám Chakk obtained Kamráj. Khwájah Hájí the wakíl of the Mírzá took a lákh of shawls and the whole of the nobles of Kashmir, but especially Ydí Zíná, took the government of the province into their hands. Názuk Sháh as a kind of shadow of a king was upheld in name. In truth Ydí Zíná was king. (coin No. 10, pl. I. I attribute to this period. It is struck in the name of *Nádir* Sháh. The reverse bears the date 957 A. H. and was probably struck from an old die of Haidar's, see Nos. 13 and 14 which were struck by Haidar in the name of Humáyún. The only sign I can find of Haidar on the coins is the solitary  $\zeta$  I have before mentioned on coin No. 33, pl. III.)

In 959 A. H. Sankar Chakk son of Gájí Chakk who was without any estates, while Ghází Chakk who called himself the son of Gájí had many, desired to leave Kashmir. The whole story is this, Sankar Chakk was without any doubt or question the son of Gájí Chakk. Ghází Khán Chakk, although he was called the son of Gájí, in reality was not his son. For Gájí after the death of his own brother Hasan Chakk took to wife the widow who was then with child. Two months after Ghází Khán Chakk was born. Hence Sankar Chakk wished to leave Kashmir (*i. e.*, I

suppose the city of Kashmír or Srínagar) and repair to Ídí Zíná. When this got wind, Daulat Chakk and Ghází Khán Chakk sent Ismá'il Hánít and Harjú with 100 men to call back Sankar Chakk, telling them to bring him by force if he would not come otherwise. He would not come, but fled to Ídí Zíná. In the end Sankar Chakk had given to him the jágírs of Kothár, Kháwin and Madurú and was thus satisfied, and so the disturbance was quelled.

In those days there were four parties in Kashmír (1) Ídí Zíná and his party, (2) Hasan Mákarí son of Abdál Mákarí and his party, (3) the Kapúris who were composed of Bahrám Chakk, Yusuf Chakk and others, (4) the Kásís who were Gájí Chakk, Daulat Chakk and Ghází Khán Chakk. In order to strengthen the Chakk interest, the following marriages took place:—The daughter of Yahí Zíná married Husain Khán son of Gájí Chakk; the daughter of Daulat Chakk married Muhammad Mákarí son of Abdál Mákarí; and the sister of Yúsuf Chakk son of Zangí Chakk married Ghází Khán Chakk. Being thus united for a short time the usual result followed, they quarrelled and separated. Ghází Khán Chakk went to Kamráj, Daulat Chakk to Súrúpúr, the Mákarí faction to Pákul. By reason of this quarrel Ídí Zíná remained in a state of grief in Srínagar. When the egg-plant came in season Ídí Zíná ordered fowl to be cooked with the fruit: this kind of food is delicious and the Kashmírís like it. Afterwards when Bahrám Chakk and Sayyid Ibráhím and Sayyid Yaqúb accepted his invitation to dine off the above-mentioned viands (but Yúsuf Chakk would not accept the invitation), Ídí Zíná seized the three and put them in prison. Yúsuf getting to hear of this fled to Daulat Chakk at Kamráj, taking with him 3,000 horsemen and 700 infantry. When Ídí Zíná saw that the Kashmírís were going over to the Chakk faction, he set free from prison the Mughals Mírzá Qarrá Bahádur, Mírzá Abdur Rahmán, Mírzá Ján Mírak, Mírzá Yakla, Mír Sháh, Shahzáda Beg Mírzá, Muhammad Nazír and Jar 'Alí, and supplied them with horses and armour and pay and took up a position at Chakkpúr. Meanwhile the Sayyids Ibráhím and Yaqúb, by the help of their troopers, escaped from prison and joined Ghází Chakk at Kamráj. Bahrám Chakk was not able to escape. The next day Ghází Khán Chakk came to Srínagar with 30 cavalry and kept up a constant fight with Ídí Zíná from the Ídgáh where he had taken up his position. Ídí Zíná sent the Mughals against him. He, however, destroyed all the bridges and the Mughals did nothing. Meanwhile Daulat Chakk came to help Ghází Khán. At last Bábá Khalíl went to Ídí Zíná and said, "You trust the Mughals and drive the Kashmírís from your sight. This is not expedient." Accordingly Ídí Zíná made peace with the Kashmírís and dismissed the Mughals and their families. Khánjí, the sister of Mírzá

Haidar went by the way of Paglí to Kábul and the families of Jar 'Alí and others were put to the sword. Khánam fled to Káshgar. After this news came that Haibat Khán and Sayyid Khán and Shahbáz Khán Affghans of the Niyází tribe were invading Kashmír and that they had arrived at the salt range in the pargannah of Báníhál. Ydí Zíná Husain Mákarí, Bahrám Chakk, Daulat Chakk and Yúsuf Chakk, joining their forces together, opposed the Niyázís. The two parties fought well, Bibí Rába, the wife of Haibat Khán Niyází joining the fight and striking 'Ali Chakk with her sword. At last, however, she and the three Niyází leaders were slain and the Kashmírí allies returned to Srínagar flushed with victory. They sent the head of the Affgháns to Islám Sháh Súrí by the hands of a man named Yaqúb. After this of course the allies disagreed. Ydí Zíná took up his residence in Khágarh together with Fath Chakk, Lauhar Mákarí, Yúsuf Chakk, Bahrám Chakk and Ibráhím Chakk. Daulat Chakk, Ghází Khán Chakk, Husain Mákarí and Sayyid Ibráhím joining themselves together settled in the Ydgáh. Two months passed thus. Then Yúsuf Chakk, Fath Chakk and Ibráhím Chakk left Ydí Zíná and joined Daulat Chakk, who finding himself thus supported attacked Ydí Zíná who not being able to oppose him fled, without trying the chance of a battle, to Merv. Wishing to change horses, by accident a horse kicked him in the breast and at Simále he disappeared altogether, *i. e.*, he died in that place and his corpse was brought to Srínagar and buried in the village of Músá Zíná. The nobles then deposed Názuk Sháh who was king only in name, and began to govern the country on their own account. Názuk Sháh, this third time, reigned ten months.

*Ibráhím Sháh II.*—Ibráhím II\* was the son of Názuk Sháh. As Ydí Zíná had departed this life, Daulat Chakk came into the capital and took upon himself the affairs of the kingdom. Inasmuch as he deemed it expedient to have some one king in name he set up Ibráhím Sháh that he might rule nominally under him. At this time Khwájah Hájí the wakíl of Mírzá Haidar left Khaigal and took refuge with Islám Sháh. At the same time Shams Zíná and Bahrám Chakk were thrown into prison. At the 'Yd-i Fitr, Daulat Chakk went to practice archery outside the city. Yúsuf Chakk was also there and riding on his horse. A foot-soldier who was gathering arrows got entangled in the horse's legs and Yúsuf was thrown from his horse and his neck was broken.

In 960 A. H. Daulat Chakk and Ghází Khán Chakk again disagreed and the whole of Kashmír was involved in the quarrel. Husain Mákarí and Shams Zíná who were in Hindustán in 961 returned and joined themselves to Ghází Khán Chakk. Bahrám Chakk and the sons

\* Coin No. 16, pl. II may be of this Ibráhím. All the coins with name Ibráhím on them seem to possess the date 842 in Arabic words.



of Yúsuf Chakk joined themselves to Daulat Chakk. These dissensions and quarrels lasted two months. At last a husbandman assuming the garb of an ambassador came to Daulat Chakk and said, “Ghází Khán Chakk has sent me to ask why you keep all these men near you for they are all your enemies.” To Ghází Khán Chakk he said, “Daulat Chakk is willing to accept peace why still stir up strife?” This trick succeeded and produced peace. Shams Zíná again fled to India.

During these times the inhabitants of Great Tibet made an incursion into Kashmír and drove away the flocks of sheep of the pargannah of Kháwan and Bára which were in the estates of Habíb Chakk the brother of Nasrat Khán Chakk. On account of this Daulat Chakk, Sankar Chakk, Ibráhím Chakk, and Haidar Chakk the son of Ghází Khán Chakk and other nobles together with an army were sent by the way of Lár to Great Tibet. Habíb Khán Chakk who was with the army, going by the way the sheep had been driven, used such expedition that he fell suddenly on the fort of Great Tibet and took it killing the governor. The garrison all fled. Habíb Chakk told his brother Darvesh Chakk to scour the country but he neglected to do this. Habíb, however, in spite of unhealed wounds, mounting his horse, took palaces and forts and the inhabitants of Great Tibet, not being able to withstand him, submitted. In one of the palaces forty persons were taken on the roof. Much importunity was used to preserve their lives. 500 horses, 1,000 pieces of pattú, 50 yaks, 200 sheep and 200 tolahs of gold were offered in their stead, but Habíb Khán would not give ear to their words: he slew the whole of the forty. Riding away from that fort he went to another which suffered the same fate. The inhabitants of Great Tibet then sent him for his acceptance 3,000 horses, 500 pieces of pattú, 200 sheep and 30 yaks. He also took from the Tibetans some five Káshgarí horses which had fallen into their hands. Haidar Chakk, son of Ghází Khán Chakk sent Khání his foster-brother to Habíb and told him that as the Tibetans were minding these Káshgarí horses for his father Ghází Khán, it was necessary that the horses should be sent to him in order that he might forward them to his father. Habíb Chakk sent nearly 200 men with the horses in order that they might quarrel among themselves in the way, but they would not do so, and at last they arrived in Srínagar with their charge.

In the year 962 a great earthquake committed much ravages in Kashmír. Many towns and villages were destroyed. Nílú and 'Adampúr were washed away by the river Jhelum. In the town of Mávur which is situated at the foot of the mountains there was a great landslip which killed nearly 600 persons.

*Ismáíl Sháh.*—When five months had passed of the reign of Ibrá-

hím Sháh, who was in truth the agent of Daulat Chakk, Ghází Khán Chakk took the affairs of the kingdom into his hands and Daulat Chakk was defeated and blinded. (I cannot tell which are the coins of Ibráhím Sháh I, and which of Ibráhím Sháh II. They are all like No. 16, pl. II, the date is 842 in Arabic words.) Ghází Khán set up Ismáel Sháh on the throne in 963 A. H. (For coin of Ismáíl see No. 17, pl. II. Date 842 in Arabic words.) In that year Habíb Khán Chakk desired to join himself to Daulat Chakk and with his intention went towards Mardádún. Ghází Khán Chakk then said to Nasrat Chakk brother of Habíb, it would be as well for us to seize Daulat Chakk before your brother comes, for afterwards it will be difficult to do so. Once upon a time Daulat Chakk going on board a boat, went to a pond in the lake that he might kill water-fowl. Ghází Khán coming after him took his horses, and when he fled to the mountains pursued him and taking him prisoner blinded him. After this Habíb Khán Chakk came and Ghází Khán who was not pleased with him gave Názuk Chakk the nephew of Daulat Chakk much inconvenience and trouble. He was not at all at ease about the blinding of his uncle and for that reason Ghází Khán Chakk wished to imprison him, but Názuk, getting news of this fled to Habíb Khán Chakk. (For coin of Ismáíl Sháh, see No. 17, pl. II.)

*Habíb Sháh son of Ismáíl Sháh.*—After Ismáíl Sháh had reigned two years he died. Ghází Khán elevated his son to the throne. Towards the end of 964 A. H. Nasrat Khán Chakk, Názuk Chakk, Sankar Chakk, brother of Ghází Khán Chakk, Yúsuf Chakk and Hastí Khán Chakk met together and took an oath and covenant to this effect that as Ghází Khán Chakk was eaten up by physic, and his brother Husain Chakk is in prison, we will release *him* and slay Ghází Khán. Ghází got to hear of all this. Appeasing Yúsuf and Sankar Chakk he called them into his presence. Habíb Khán Chakk, Nasrat Khán Chakk, and Darvesh Khán Chakk said they would like lawyers and learned men to plead for them, and then come or flee as it pleased them. Nasrat Chakk came without any promise being given him and was at once imprisoned. Habíb Chakk and Názuk Chakk destroyed the bridges and departed. Hastí Khán Chakk with all his followers joined them. Ghází Khán sent a large army against them and a great battle resulted. His army was beaten and several were taken prisoners. Habíb Khán being victorious departed to the mountains of Mámún. After the defeat his army had sustained, Ghází Chakk took the field himself in order that he might defeat Habíb; and he went to Badúmara. Thence by water with 3 elephants and 3,000 men he went to the plain Khálidgarh. Habíb Khán here opposed him with twenty men, but after a hard fight he was compelled to flee. At the bridge of the Jamja his horse stuck fast. Mean-

while an elephant driver of Ghází Khán Chakk came up and took him prisoner. Ghází Khán Chakk told him to take off his head. He tried to do so, but Habíb got the man's hand in his mouth and held it in his teeth. At last, however, he managed to sever his head from his body, and he carried it to Kala, the name of his residence and hung it there on the door. Darvesh Chakk and Názuk Chakk also fell into their hands and were treated similarly. After this Bahrám Chakk returned from India and the jágír of Khuba Hámún was given to him. Getting permission he left Srínagar and went to his birthplace Dancha in the pargannah of Zaingarh. Sankar Chakk, Fath Chakk and others soon joined him and going to Súbapúr they raised the standard of rebellion. Ghází Khán Chakk sent his sons and brothers against them. They were not able to oppose them and fled to the mountains. Ghází Khán sent his party after them and ordered them to pursue until they captured. The next day news came that Bahrám Chakk had escaped from Sarkob, and that Sankar Chakk and Fath Chakk had left him. Ghází Khán himself pursued them to Khoba Hámún and for six days searched everywhere for Bahrám Chakk, but he was not taken. However Ahmad Jozín brother of Haidar Chakk son of Ghází Khán Chakk agreed to pursue Bahrám until he took him, so Ghází Khán returned to the city. Ahmad Jozín went to Sarkob the residence of the Ríshís or Sufís and arrested them and made enquiries about Bahrám. The Ríshís said they had placed him in a boat and conveyed him to the residence of Amír Zíná in Bádelí. The Ríshís are a people who are engaged at all times in agriculture and tree planting. When Ahmad Jozín came to Amír Zíná after much search he succeeded in arresting Bahrám Chakk whom he took to Srínagar where the people killed him and Ahmad Jozín was elated with his success. In those days Sháh Abulmuáli who had fled from Lahore, and had been imprisoned by the Ghakkars managed to escape with the fetters still on his feet. Making friends with Kamál Khán Ghakkar, he, after the fashion of Mírzá Haidar, desired to invade Kashmír. When he arrived in Bájáorí a company of Mughals met him. The blinded Daulat Chakk, Fath Chakk and others of the Chakk faction and Lauhar Vángarí all joined Sháh Abulmuáli and in 965 A. H. he set out for Kashmír. When he arrived at Bárámúlla Haidar Chakk and Fath Chakk who were guarding the pass fled and went to Bádúkhí. The Sháh proceeding justly, would not allow any of his soldiers to oppress the people. Ghází Khán Chakk making his brother Husain Chakk leader of the van, himself took up a position at Khanúd. The Kashmírís who were with Sháh Abulmuáli left him without leave and attacked Husain Chakk and caused him to flee. Ghází Khán Chakk went to his assistance and fighting bravely many Kashmírís were slain by him and the battle

turned in his favour. Sháh Abulmuáli seeing this state of things fled without further resistance. In his flight his horse became very tired, but a Mughal whom he came across gave him a fresh one and took the tired one and stood with it on the road. When the Kashmírís who were pursuing Abulmuáli came up to the place he held them all at bay for some time until, his quiver becoming empty, they rushed upon him in a mass and slew him. During the delay Abulmuáli escaped. Ghází Khán returning arrived in Bádúkhí and every Mughal whom they brought to him he beheaded. But the Háfiz Mírzá Husainí who was from the singers of Humáyún he did not slay on account of his good singing. After this Nasrat Khán Chakk was liberated from prison, and sent into the service of Jalál-ud-Dín Akbar, where becoming acquainted with Bairám Khán he tried to ingratiate himself in his favour.

In 966 A. H. a change came over the disposition of Ghází Khán Chakk and resulted in much oppression and violence to the people who all became opposed to him. He by chance heard that his son Haidar Chakk wished to take the kingdom of Kashmír from him. So he called his wakíl Muhammad Janíd and Bahádur Bihut and sent them to admonish his son and advise him to put such imaginations out of his head. They went to him and petitioned him. But Haidar Chakk snatched a dagger out of Muhammad Janíd's girdle and buried it in his stomach. People flocked in and arrested Haidar and took him to his father who ordered him to be executed and his body to be suspended on a door in Zínágarh. All who joined him also were executed.

In 967 A. H. Mírzá Qarrá Bahádur came from India with a large army and nine elephants. For three months he stayed in Lálpúr. From the Kashmírís Nasrat Chakh, Fath Chakk and others, and from the Ghakkars also a large body joined him. He evidently hoped that a lot of Kashmírís would join him. But meanwhile the leaders who had come in deserted him and went over to Ghází Khán. By reason of this desertion there was much indecision in the invading army. Ghází Khán coming from Kashmír arrived in Naurozkot and sent his infantry against the invaders and defeated them. Mírzá Qarrá fled to the fort of Daira. The next day he again fled before the attack of infantry and his elephants fell into the enemy's hands while five hundred Mughals were killed.

Five years had passed of the reign of Habíb Sháh when Ghází Khán Chakk determined to put him on one side and unfold the royal banners in his own behalf. Ceasing to act therefore in the name of another, he ordered the Khutba to be read and coins to be struck in his own name, taking the title of Ghází Sháh.

(I have never seen a coin of any metal with Habíb's name on it. None of my numismatic friends have one. And yet he reigned five

years. I am inclined to think that the coin with the name of *Mahmúd* on it was struck by him. I read the date on this coin as 961 A. H. See fig. 18, pl. II. The unit word and figure are both almost gone. The reverse of No. 28, pl. I, is, however, precisely similar and gives 961 undoubtedly which is two years before the accession of Akbar. No wonder the Rev. J. Loewenthal said, "There is, however, great confusion in all the dates of Kashmírian History," p. 280, I. A. B. S. 1864. Naráyan Kol states that Habíb Khán became king of Kashmír in 960. In 961 he committed great mistakes in the administration of justice, so that the pillars of State became ashamed of him. Hence 'Alí Khán put the crown on the head of Ghází Khán his brother. This was the beginning of the Chakk dynasty. 'Azam puts the beginning of the Chakk dynasty in 962 A. H. He calls Habíb son of Ismáíl Sháh while Naráyan Kol gives Shams-ud-Dín (Ismáíl's brother) as the name of his father. If Naráyan Kol be correct then the coin of Mahmúd may be assigned to Habíb. It is not uncommon for a king to rule in one name and for his coins to bear another. The Islám Sháh of the coins is the *Salím Sháh* of history. There is, according to Lieutenant Newall, an inscription of Habíb's in Kashmír dated 981 A. H. I. A. B. S. 1864. But Newall himself makes Habíb die in 1557 A. D. = 965 A. H. By the way he calls Nádir Sháh Tarkh Sháh. For my text I am indebted to Farishtah and I have followed him. Naráyan Kol cannot be right as to the length of Habíb's reign. For as we have seen Akbar was reigning in India and he ascended the throne in 963 A. H. When authorities are so conflicting and coins cannot be trusted, it is hard to come to a decision as to what is correct.)

*Ghází Sháh.*—Ghází Sháh by reason of leprosy had lost his voice, his fingers were nearly dropping off and his teeth were much decayed. In 968 A. H. Fath Chakk, Lauhar Vánkarí and other Kashmírís coming under the suspicion of Ghází Sháh betook themselves to the mountains. Husain Chakk brother of Ghází Sháh was sent with 2,000 men to pursue them. As it was winter the rebels perished: some few who escaped fled to Khatwár, but becoming uneasy there, they sought refuge with Husain Chakk who entreated forgiveness for them from Ghází Sháh, who not only forgave them but bestowed lands on them. In 970 Ghází Sháh, leaving Kashmír went to Lár. Thence he sent Fath Khán Chakk, Násir Kibatu and his own son Ahmad Khán together with some nobles to invade Great Tibet. When they got within five koss of Tibet Kalán, Fath Khán Chakk, without obtaining permission from Ahmad Khán left the army and went into the city. Inasmuch as the Tibetans did not desire war, they were ready to make great presents to him, and he quickly came out from the midst of them. Ahmad Khán seeing

this said to himself, that inasmuch as Fath Khán has entered Tibet and returned, why should I not do the same? All Kashmir would praise me. He therefore determined to go alone. Fath Chakk remonstrated with him, and told him that if he were determined to go he ought not to go alone. He would not listen to him, and went accompanied but by 500 men. Fath Khán retired. The Tibetans seeing Ahmad coming alone, attacked him and he not being able to withstand them, fled to Fath Khán and ordered him to the rear-guard of the army for the day while he pressed forward without delay. The Tibetans still pressed on, and when they found Fath Khán alone, engaged him in battle. He, fighting with all zeal and alone, was slain. Ghází Sháh hearing this news was exceedingly angry, and turned away his face from his son as was meet after such conduct. The reign of Ghází Sháh was cut short after four years.\*

*Sultán Husain Sháh.*—The “*Tárikh-i-Kashmír*” says Husain Sháh, ascended the throne in 971 A. H. Two coins Nos. 20 and 21, pl. II, give 970. I prefer the testimony of these coins to that of the historians. The date is duplicated, it is given once in Persian words and once in figures and both dates agree.

Husain Sháh was the brother of Ghází Sháh. In 971 A. H. Ghází Sháh invaded Great Tibet and took up a position at Muladghar. On account of his being a victim of leprosy he lost his eyesight. He made it a habit to oppress his subjects and from innocent people exacted heavy fines. By reason of this his subjects were estranged from him and formed themselves into two companies against him. One faction followed Ahmad Khán his son, and the other his brother Husain Chakk. When Ghází Sháh heard of this he returned from his expedition to Tibet and re-entered Srínagar, and as he showed greater friendship to Husain Chakk he placed him on the throne instead himself, and the whole of the nobles and ministers came to the house of Husain and gave in their firm allegiance to him. After 15 days Ghází Sháh divided the whole of his robes and goods into two parts, one part he gave to his own sons, the other to shopkeepers telling them to give him their value. The shopkeepers at once resorted to Husain to ask for justice. Husain advised Ghází Sháh to desist from making his demand. On this Ghází wished that he had made his own son his successor. Husain hearing this summoned Ahmad Khán, Ghází's son and Abdál Khán and others of the family to his presence, and made them take an oath and give their word to obey him. Ghází Sháh being ashamed at this attempt to subvert the

\* For coin of Ghází Sháh see No. 18, pl. II. Dr. Stulpnagel has I believe the only duplicate known. Mine from which I drew No. 19 is now in the British Museum.

king called round him a party of Mughals and formed a faction of his own. Husain remained firm and opposed him. The headmen of the city and towns intervened and extinguished the flame of rebellion. Ghází Sháh, leaving the city, took up his abode at Rahínpúr and after three months again came into Srínagar. Husain Sháh being firm in his government divided Kashmír into portions. In 972\* he sent his eldest brother Sankar Chakk to Rájáorí and Naushahra which he gave him in jágír. But after this he heard that Sankar had rebelled. For this reason he gave the j. gír to Muhammad Mákarí and sent an army under Ahmad Khán and Fath Khán Chakk, Khwájah Masaúd and Mának Chakk against Sankar and they gradually became victorious. Husain Khán went out to meet them and brought them to Srínagar, but after awhile it came to his knowledge that Ahmad Khán and Muhammad Khán Mákarí and Nasrat Khán Chakk had determined to assassinate him. He therefore wished to arrest them. They, getting to know of this, came in a body before Husain, who knowing they were acquainted with his purpose sent Lodní Lond to them, that he might get them all in one place and make each person take an oath that he would have enmity with no second person. The Malik did his business well and made them all inclined towards peace, and they all came into the house of Ahmad Khán and inasmuch as this last named gentleman had not seen Husain Sháh for some time they determined to carry him into the king's presence. Ahmad Khán with much flattery consented and together with Nasrat Khán Chakk and Malik Lodní Lond they went to the palace of Husain. The Qází Hábib, who was of a city family, and Muhammad Mákarí being present, the assembly was held. When evening came Husain told them he was going to have a game and that they might withdraw to the upper room and enjoy themselves and he would shortly join them. When they had gone to the upper room he ordered some persons to imprison them. After this he sent 'Alí Khán and Khán-i-Zamán whose real name was Fath Khán against Sankar Chakk with a large army to Rájáorí. They defeated him and returned victorious. Khán-i-Zamán, getting all power into his hands, ordered all the nobles every day to put in an appearance at his house. In the year 973 A. H. people calumniated the Khán before Husain Chakk so that he commanded that no one should visit him. The Khán was making preparations for leaving Kashmír when Husain Mákarí coming to him asked him, "Why do you leave the country? Husain Sháh has left his palace to go hunting. You can now seize the whole of his goods and treasures." These words pleased the Khán and with the aid of Fath Chakk, Laubar Vánkarí and the like of them he went to the palace of Husain

\* Coin No. 22 is dated 972 A. H.

Sháh and set fire to the doors and tried to deliver Muhammad Mákari, and Ahmad Khán and Nasrat Khán from prison. At that time Masaúd Mának, who was superintendent of the prison, threw water into the hall of the palace until it became mud. Daulat Khán, a follower of the Chakks, putting on his quiver stood ready. Bahádur Khán, the son of Khán-i-Zamán rushed upon him and struck at him with his sword, but it alighted on his quiver. Daulat Khán let fly an arrow which struck the horse of Bahádur in the eyes and caused it to rear so that Bahádur was unhorsed. Masaúd Mának at once cut off his head and Khán-i-Zamán who was standing outside fled. Masaúd Mának pursued him and took him prisoner and led him into the presence of Husain Sháh. The king commanded that they should take him to Zínágarh, and there cut out off his ears and nose and hands and feet and hang the body on a door. Calling Masaúd Mának his son, he gave him the title of Mubáriz Khán, and with it the jágír of Bákul.

In the year 974 A. H. Husain Sháh gave orders that Ahmad Khán son of Ghází Sháh, Nasrat Khán Chakk and Muhammad Khán Mákari should all be blinded. Ghází Sháh made every exertion to get this order reversed, and as he was sick he died. Husain Sháh then founded a school and sought the company of the pious and learned. To a party of these he gave Zainpúr as a jágír.

In 975 A. H. Husain Sháh heard from Lodní Lond that Masaúd Mának Mubáriz Khán had spread abroad that "inasmuch as the king has called me his son, he must also give me a portion of his treasure." Husain Sháh was exceedingly troubled on hearing this and went to Masaúd's house, where, seeing many horses in the stable his mind turned altogether against him, and he ordered him to be imprisoned and Lodní Lond was honoured with the offices and position Masaúd had enjoyed. He did not long enjoy his honours for he embezzled 40,000 ass-loads of shawls belonging to government, and was in consequence put in prison and 'Alí Kúka received his post.

In 976 A. H. Qází Habíb, of the Hanífí sect, on a Friday, leaving the Juma Masjid, came to the zíarat in the graveyard of Yáikoh Márán. There, a man of the Shía religion attacked him with a sword and wounded him in the head. Again he struck him and the Qází raising his hand to protect his head had his fingers cut off. Except difference in religion these two had nothing else between them. Malána Kamál, son-in-law of the Qází, was also with him engaged in reading. Yúsuf after wounding the Qází fled and Husain Sháh, who was himself a Shía, when he heard of the affair ordered Yúsuf to be imprisoned and brought before him. A company of lawyers such as Mulla Yúsuf, Mulla Fíroz and the like were assembled, and the king asked them to decide accord-



ing to the law in the matter. They said that the killing of such a person by way of punishment was allowable. The Qází said, "I am alive. The killing of such a person is not allowable." At last, however, they stoned Yúsuf. By accident at that time there came to Kashmír some co-religionists of Yúsuf,—Mírzá Muqím, and Mír Yaqúb son of Bábá 'Alí as ambassadors from the court of the Emperor Jalál-ud-Dín Muhammad Akbar. When they arrived at Hírapúr Husain Sháh Chakk erected his tents. When he heard that they were near he left his tent and went out to meet them, and then bringing them in took his seat by their side. After this the ambassadors went by boat, accompanied by Husain's son to Kashmír while Husain returned on horseback. The house of Husain Mákarí was appointed for them. After a few days Mírzá Muqím who was a co-religionist of Yúsuf said that as the Qázís have killed Yúsuf, you had better send them to me. They were accordingly sent. Qází Zain, who was of the same religion as Yúsuf, said, that the lawyers had made a mistake in their sentence. The lawyers replied we did not give the sentence of death absolutely, we said that to execute such a person was allowable by way of punishment. Mírzá Muqím treated their answer with contempt and gave the lawyers into the hands of Fath Khán Chakk, who tortured them. Husain Sháh went by boat to Kamráj. Fath Khán Chakk acting on the orders of Mírzá Muqím executed the lawyers, and tying ropes to their heels he ordered their bodies to be dragged up and down the streets and lanes of the city.

Husain Sháh sent his own daughter as a gift by the hands of the ambassadors to Jalál-ud-Dín Muhammad Akbar, and in that way showed his acknowledgment of Akbar's supremacy.

In the year 977 A. H. news arrived in Kashmír that Akbar had put to death Mírzá Muqím as a recompense for his causing the death of innocent persons in Kashmír. The daughter of Husain Sháh was returned being rejected of Akbar. Husain Sháh, hearing this news was seized with a bloody-flux and lived only three or four months afterwards.

'*Alí Sháh*.—At that time Muhammad Khán and Bihut Yúsuf son of 'Alí Khán Chakk determined to go to 'Alí Khán Chakk who was in Sonpúr. When Yúsuf went to that place others also gradually fled to 'Alí Khán. Husain Sháh sent messengers to 'Alí Khán to know what he had done "thy son has received no injury I send him to you." 'Alí gave answer that "he had done nothing also. People of themselves have fled to me. Although I advise them to return it is of no use." At last 'Alí took the road to Srínagar and waited about 7 koss from the city. Lodní Lond there joined him having fled from Husain Sháh, who leaving the city had pitched his tents at a distance from it of about a koss at

Jalahájam. That same night he was deserted by Ahmad and Muhammad Mákarí who fled to 'Alí Khán. Then Daulat Chakk who was one of those near to Husain said to him, "Inasmuch as everybody is leaving us, it would be better to send all the royal insignia, about which the quarrel is, to 'Alí Khán Chakk who is your brother and not a stranger." Husain Sháh at once sent the royal umbrella, the yak's tail and all the insignia of royalty to 'Alí Khán, by the hands of Yúsuf, saying, that his only sin was that he was sick. After this 'Alí Khán went to the house of Husain and visited him. Both shed tears. Husain gave up the city into the hands of 'Alí and went to live at Zainpúr, and 'Alí assuming the title of 'Alí Sháh, took upon himself the affairs of the kingdom. After three months Husain died. 'Alí Sháh followed the bier to the grave which was dug near the Hairán Bázár.

In those days a darvesh named Sháh 'Árif arrived in Kashmír from Lahore. He gave out that he was descended from Tahmásp king of Persia. He was a Shía and was dressed in the garb of a faqír: he was a Súfí also. He had left Husain Qulí Khán Turkmán the governor of the Panjáb. 'Alí Sháh who was a Shía considering himself honoured by this visit expressed his pleasure and besought the holy man to marry his own daughter. He also called him the Mahdí of the latter days. 'Alí Chakk, Nauroz Chakk and Ibráhím Chakk son of Ghází Sháh were all so pleased with him that they not only believed on him but actually worshipped him and at last, considering him worthy, determined to make him their king. 'Alí Sháh getting to hear of this was very vexed and proceeded to severe measures. Sháh 'Árif who was famous for his knowledge of alchemy and his power over fairies, saw how the wind was blowing and gave out that he would no longer stay in Kashmír but would depart to Lahore or some other country in a day. After this he lived in seclusion, until people thought he had disappeared miraculously, but after three days it came out that he had given two ashrafís to a boatman to take him to Baramúlla whence he had fled to the mountains. 'Alí Sháh sent after him and arrested him and gave him over to keepers. When he fled a second time he was again brought from the Sulaimán mountains. This time 'Alí Sháh took from him his daughter and her dowry of 1,000 ashrafís, and had his daughter divorced from him and caused Khwájah Sará also to leave him and put a watch over him, and at last permitted him to depart to Tibet. 'Alí Rái ruler of Tibet who had an affection for the family of the foolish fellow ran to meet him, and regarded his coming as a great boon and left no rite of hospitality unperformed. He wished him to make the country his own, and begged him to accept his beloved and noble daughter as his wife. He stayed there some time and then at the invitation of Akbar, he took his departure to

India. He arrived in Agra but died shortly afterwards. (It would be interesting to know what the *ashrafís* which are mentioned in this story, were. The only gold coin I have seen of the Sultáns of Kashmír is one of *Yúsuf*. General Cunningham has two gold coins of Máhárája *Harsha*.)

In 979 A. H. 'Alí Chakk, son of Nauroz Chakk, came to 'Alí Sháh and complained that Dúkah had been trespassing on his estates and interrupting his business. "If you do not stop him" said he "I shall rip open the belly of my own horse." 'Alí Sháh understood this to mean a threat against himself. For this reason he grew angry and ordered him to be arrested and taken to Kamráj. He escaped from this place, however, and fled to Husain Qulí Khán, governor of the Panjáb, who did not treat him with conventional hospitality, so he left Lahore and returned to Kashmír where he was arrested by 'Alí Sháh and imprisoned. He again after some time escaped and went to Naushahra where 'Alí Sháh sent an army against him which took him prisoner and hurried him away.

In 980 A. H. 'Alí Sháh invaded Khatwár and taking the daughter of the ruler of that place, he returned. At this time Mulla Ishqí and Qází Sadr-ud-Dín came from Akbar on a mission to 'Alí Sháh. 'Alí sent his niece as a wife for the prince Salím, and along with her he sent a quantity of presents. *He also read the khutba and struck coins in the name of that sovereign, i. e., of Akbar.* At this time also Yúsuf the son of 'Alí Sháh on the information of Muhammad Bihut, put to death Ibráhím Khán son of Ghází Khán, without the agreement of his father 'Alí Sháh. Yúsuf together with his informer fled to Báramúlla. 'Alí Sháh tried to heal the wound. People asked that the sin of Yúsuf might be forgiven, but demanded that Muhammad Bihut, who was the cause of the trouble, should be imprisoned which was accordingly done.

In 982 A. H. 'Alí Sháh invaded Khatwár, which is also called Kishtwár. Taking the daughter of the governor of that place for a wife to his grandchild Yaqúb he made peace and returned to the city.

In 983 A. H. 'Alí Sháh together with his family and court visited Jamálnaggi. Haidar Khán, son of Muhammad Sháh, of the family of Zain-ul-Ábidín who was in Gujrát when that country was taken by Akbar, and who returned to India along with the Conqueror, now came to Naushahra. His cousin Salím Khán who was in the neighbourhood joined him with a large party. 'Alí Sháh sent a large army under Lauhar Chakk against them. Muhammad Khán Chakk, who was then governing Rájáorí being envious at the appointment of Lauhar Chakk imprisoned him and taking his army went over to Haidar Khán in Naushahra and offered to conquer Kashmír for him if he could send along with him that brave man Islám Khán. Haidar elated with the

prospect, allowed Islám to accompany him. When they arrived at the town of Jakún, Muhammad Khán, leaving Islám Khán with an excuse, went straight to 'Alí Sháh and was received with favour. 'Alí Máharí, Dáúd Guzár and others who had sided with Haidar Khán were put in prison.

In 984 A. H. there was a severe famine in Kashmír and many people died of starvation.

In 985 A. H. 'Alí Sháh went out on the top of the mosque and sought the companionship of learned and pious men. And according to the traditions of the Hadíth on the benefits of repentance, he repented and bathed. He spent his time in prayers and in reading the Qurán. In his hours of leisure he would mount his horse and engage in polo on the plain. One day as he was on the plain of the ídgáh playing at this game, the pommel of his saddle entered his stomach and he was killed. (For coins of 'Alí Sháh, see Nos. 23, 24, 25, pl. II. One is undoubtedly 987 A. H., and yet the history makes him die in 985. I have one coin of Husain Sháh with date 986 A. H. This is of course quite wrong. For all this I think the coins of 'Alí Sháh are right and the histories wrong. No. 27, pl. II is of Akbar's and is dated 987 A. H. just the same as No. 26 of 'Alí Sháh. This No. 27 I take to be one of the coins struck by 'Alí Sháh in honour of Akbar. There is No. 38, pl. III of the same date 987, and also No. 26, pl. II of Yúsuf Sháh, of the same. We shall have to assign No. 38 to some one.)

*Yúsuf Sháh.*—When 'Alí Sháh died his brother Abdál Khán Chakk, from fear of his nephew Yúsuf was not present at the mourning, so Yúsuf sent Sayyid Mubáriz Khán and Bábá Khalíl to him with the message that “If you accept me as king, well and good, if not, you had better be king yourself and I will be obedient to you.” When they had delivered their message, he said to them, “I am coming and am binding on my girdle, but if any harm happen to me or any hair of mine be injured, the burden be on your own necks.” Mubáriz Khán who had evil intentions towards him said, that he would go to Yúsuf Sháh and obtain from him his solemn oath and covenant about this, and with this promise they parted. Mubáriz went to Yúsuf Sháh and told him that Abdál Khán would not come at his invitation, “so it is necessary first of all to cure him and after that to bury 'Alí Sháh.” Yúsuf Sháh mounted his horse and went to Abdál, who, opposing him in like manner was slain. Jalál Khán son of Mubáriz Khán was slain in the same encounter. The next day 'Alí Sháh was buried according to the manner of the Shíás and Yúsuf Sháh became ruler in his stead.

After two months Mubáriz Khán aided by 'Alí Khán Chakk crossed the river with the intention of rebellion. Muhammad Mákarí, who was

leading the van of Yúsuf's army, together with 60 persons was slain. Yúsuf asking for quarter fled to Hírapúr. Mubáriz hearing this news arranged his army and prepared for war. Yúsuf finding himself unequal to the contest fled to the town of Parthál in the jungle. Mubáriz Khán pursued him, and the two parties coming together, Yúsuf took refuge in the mountains, while Mubáriz returned victorious to Kashmír. He imprisoned 'Alí Khán Chakk son of Nauroz Chakk whom he had summoned to his presence to be near him. Other members of the Chakk faction such as Lauhar Chakk, Haidar Chakk and Hastí Chakk from terror did not come to Mubáriz at first, but after awhile they all came, when Bábá Khalíl and Sayyid Barkhurdár had covenanted with them that no harm should happen to them. After this each of them retired to his own home. On their way they made a covenant that they would recall Yúsuf Sháh and make him their king. At once therefore they sent messengers to Yúsuf, saying, that they acknowledged him as king, and were ashamed of their own pusilanimous conduct. Mubáriz began to tremble and promised to go at once with his sons and slaves to Yúsuf Sháh, and with this intention went out of the city accompanied by 'Alí Khán Chakk son of Nauroz Chakk whom he had kept in prison. Daulat Chakk, who was one of his nobles because he had fled before him, was troubled, freeing 'Alí Khán Chakk, he went to the monastery of Bábá Khalíl alone. Haidar Chakk sent a message to 'Alí Khán Chakk telling him that all this exertion and endeavour was to free him. Yúsuf Chakk son of 'Alí Khán said to his father: "Haidar Chakk is explaining his conduct." 'Alí Khán did not heed this, but joined himself to Haidar Chakk and went with him. Lauhar Chakk\* and the like of him were gathered together in one place. When they saw 'Alí Khán they took him and put him in prison. After that they all agreed to elevate Lauhar Chakk to the throne. Meanwhile Yúsuf Sháh having arrived at Kálpúr heard that the Kashmírís had made Lauhar Chakk king. (I propose identifying coin No. 38, pl. III as one of Lauhar Chakk's.) The name on it is neither Lauhar nor Gauhar, but some name ending in  $\epsilon$  and ud-Dín. Perhaps the name is  $\text{بدوع الدين}$  Budúa-ud-Dín [the oustripper of others in religion] it is a new name to Kashmír history no matter what it is. (Of course it is the name or title Lauhar Chakk assumed on ascending the throne.) Going from Lálpúr Yúsuf Sháh went to Záhil and taking all his men with him proceeded by way of Jummú to Sayyid Yúsuf Khán Shahídí who was a great noble of the Emperor Jalál-ud-Dín Muhammad Akbar, to ask for help. This noble resided in Lahore. By the assistance of Rája Mán Singh, Yúsuf arrived in Fathpúr Sikrí and had an interview with the Emperor Akbar who had long desired to take Kashmír,

\* Written also in MSS. Gauhar.

and being glad of this opportunity sent Rája Mán Singh and Sayyid Yúsuf Khán Shahídí to Kashmír, and they started from Fathpúr Sikrî in company with Yúsuf Sháh in 987. (This is the date on the coin I read Budúa-ud-Dín or Lauhar Chakk. The next sentence settles the matter I think.) But at this time the kingship of Kashmír was in the hands of Lauhar Chakk. Yúsuf Sháh sent his son Yaqúb before him to wean the people from their own ideas and to sow seeds of dissension in the council of Lauhar Chakk. When Yúsuf arrived in Síálkot he went to Rájáorí and took it and thence to Thatta. At the time Lauhar Chakk sent against him Yúsuf Kashmírí, but the Kashmírí at once joined himself to the king. Yúsuf Sháh being thus helped went by double marches along the most difficult road of Jhúpul to the fort of Sonpúr. Lauhar Chakk along with Haidar Chakk, Shams Chakk and Hastí Chakk marched along the banks of the Jhelum and after a few days a hard battle being fought, victory declared in favour of Yúsuf who then turned his face towards Srínagar. Lauhar Chakk by the intervention of Qází Músá and Muhammad Saádat Bihut, had an interview with Yúsuf Sháh which resulted in his own imprisonment. From amongst the Kashmírís also a goodly number were imprisoned. When Yúsuf Sháh had satisfied himself about the kingship, dividing Kashmír into parts he gave jágírs to Shams Chakk son of Daulat Chakk and to his own son Yaqúb and to Yúsuf Kashmírí, and the rest of the land he let out to tenants in chief. After this, acting on the information of certain people, he put out the eyes of Lauhar Chakk.

In 988 A. H. suspicion having fallen on 'Alí Sher Chakk and Muhammad Saádat Bihut and Shams Chakk they were put in prison. Habíb Khán Chakk fled from fear to the town of Khú and Yúsuf, son of 'Alí Khán Chakk who had been imprisoned by Yúsuf Sháh joined Habíb with his four brothers in that place. Thence, going to Tibet, they obtained help from the Rájah and returned, but arriving on the frontiers of Kashmír they quarrelled amongst themselves and did nothing except separate. The soldiery, however, got hold of Yúsuf and Muhammad Khán and cut off their ears and noses. Habíb Khán hid himself in the city.

In 989 A. H. when Jalál-ud-Dín Akbar was returning from Kábul and had encamped at Jalálábád, Mírzá Táhir a relative of Mírzá Sayyid Khán Shahídí and Muhammad Sálíh Áqil were sent to Kashmir as ambassadors. When they arrived at Bárápúla, Yúsuf Sháh ran to meet them, and kissing the orders (of Akbar) and putting them on his head, made obeisance and brought the ambassadors into the city. He then sent his son Haidar Khán and Shaikh Yaqúb Kashmírí with many presents to Akbar with whom they stayed for about a year and then returned.

In this same\* year Yúsuf Sháh went to Lár. Shams Chakk fled with his chains out of prison and went to Khatwár and joined Haidar Chakk who was at that place. When Yúsuf got to know of this he went after them with an army. They, disagreeing amongst themselves, fled and Yúsuf Sháh returned victorious to Srínagar.

In the year 990\* Shams Chakk and Haidar Chakk came from Khatwár to Kashmír with the intention of waging war with Yúsuf Sháh. But Yúsuf met them and appointing his son Yaqúb to lead the van, victory resulted in his favour and he returned victorious. At the intervention of the Rái of Khatwár, Yúsuf forgave Shams Chakk and presented him with a jágír. Haidar Chakk leaving Khatwár went to Rájah Mán Singh.

In the year 992, Yaqúb the son of Yúsuf Sháh was honoured by a reception at the court of Akbar to whom he had gone to give in his submission and homage. When his Majesty arrived in Lahore from Fathpúr Sikrí Yaqúb wrote to his father Yúsuf Sháh that the Emperor was intending to visit Kashmír. Yúsuf said he would meet him. But just at this time he heard that Hakím 'Ali Gílání had arrived at Thatta on an embassy from Akbar. Yúsuf Sháh at once proceeded to Thatta and put on the robes Akbar had sent as a present. He desired to resort at once to the imperial presence but Bábá Khalíl, Bábá Mahdí and Shams Dadlí agreeing together told him that if he went he would be slain, and his son Yaqúb would transport himself rapidly to Kashmír and get made king. Hearing this, Yúsuf delayed accompanying them, so they returned alone to his Majesty. But when Akbar, who was in earnest about the conquest of Kashmír heard of this device he at once appointed Sháh Rukh Mírzá and Sháh Qulí Khán and Bhagwán Dáss to the invasion of Kashmír. Yúsuf Sháh encamped at Baramúlla. When the news arrived that the invading army had arrived at Haulbás on the frontiers of Kashmír, he stopped up the way. As it was winter and the time for ice and the road was shut up, offers of peace were made. Yúsuf Sháh putting his son Yaqúb on the throne went himself to Rájah Bhagwán Dáss to negotiate. Agreeing to pay annual tribute he made peace. The nobles of Akbar, however, seized him and carried him into the presence of his Majesty. The Emperor was not pleased with the treaty. And in 995 he sent Muhammad Qásim Mírbahr and other nobles. Yaqúb Sháh who was on the throne of Kashmír opposed their coming. The chiefs of Kashmír who were rebellious and who had not given in their submission to Yaqúb, deserted him at this crisis and went over to Muhammad Qásim. Some, however, raised the standard of rebellion in the city. When Yaqúb found that his party was disturbed by interne-

\* Probably this is 990 A. H. and 990 in the next paragraph should be 991.

cine quarrels he left the city, and when the army of Akbar entered it he fled to the mountains. Muhammad Qásim having obtained possession of Srínagar extended his power over the provinces. Yaqúb Sháh collecting again an army opposed him. After many Mughals had been slain, Yaqúb was defeated, but after a short time he collected an army with the intention of taking Srínagar. This time Muhammad Qásim not having power to oppose him fled to the fort of Irak and wrote a petition to Akbar asking for aid. The Emperor making Yúsuf Khán Sháhídí governor of Kashmír recalled Muhammad Qásim. When Yúsuf arrived in Kashmír Yaqúb Sháh raised the siege and fled to the mountains. Yúsuf there pursued him for two years. At length he was taken and being encouraged with hopes of the royal mercy he was sent to the Emperor. He was forgiven and the father and son, *i. e.*, Yúsuf Sháh and Yaqúb Sháh becoming nobles of Akbar's court obtained jágírs in the province of Behár. From this time the history of Kashmír is merged in that of the Emperors of Dehlí and the province remained in their power. Before this for a thousand years Kashmír had never been conquered by any one of the kings of India. (Coins No. 26, pl. II, and No. 34, pl. III, are of Yúsuf Sháh. Nos. 35 and 37 are of Yaqúb Sháh. These latter coins are dated 992 A. H. which agrees with the above account. Coins 27, 28, 29, 30 are of Akbar before he had conquered the province. Coins 40, 41, 42 are Akbar's after the conquest of the country. The two latter ones are full rupees. No. 40 is a dām. Srínagar continued to be a mint town of the Mughal Emperors as well as of the Abdállí and Sikh conquerors.)

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*The Kings of the Šaffáriún Dynasty of Nímroz or Sijistán.—*

By MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY.

I have read with some surprise a paper in the Proceedings for April last, p. 75, by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, on some coins from Kandahár, wherein he says :—

“In mixed metal there was a great quantity of the coins of a king but little known to history, *Táj-ud-Dín Muhammad Hardufi* or *Harúfi* or *Khardufi*, several of one equally little known, *Harb*, and one coin of *Táj-ud-Dín Nasr bin Bahrám Sháh* ;” and, that, as some of the coins acquired at the same time bore the names of the “mints Nímroz and Herát, I had no hesitation, as the coins came from Kandahár, in assigning them to kings who at some time or other ruled in South and Western Affghanistan.”

This is rather an unsafe theory to go upon, as the result shows. He also regards “the present find as one of some importance especially